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Based exclusively on open-source material, including a number of Russian, German, and Bulgarian primary sources, this bibliography provides up-to-date (post-1980) monographic and journal material on the theory and practice of psychological operations, as demonstrated in history and currently in the military doctrine of the Soviet Union and the United States. A separate section lists about 100 older sources considered important basic reading and gives reference material on the subject. The listings are broken down into two subheadings: General Treatments, and Theoretical Psyop. The 325 entries are given alphabetically by author (in a separate master listing of monographs and journal articles) and alphabetically within each subject

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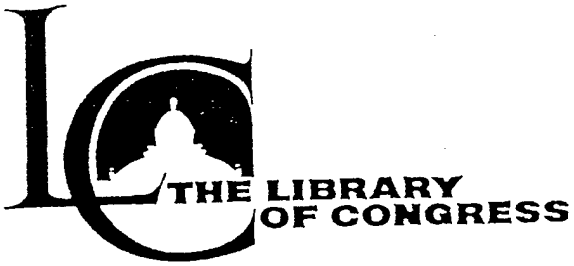

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

A Report Prepared under an Interagency Agreement by the Federal Research Division, Library of Congress

January 1989

Authors: *Glenn Curtis*
Jim Nichol

Federal Research Division
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Washington, DC 20540-4840

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PREFACE

This bibliography consists of unclassified articles and books, in English, French, Russian, German, and Bulgarian, on the history, theory, and application of Psychological Operations, or Psyop. The introduction explains the format and methods used in constructing the bibliography.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The accompanying bibliography contains over 300 citations of articles and monographs on the topic of psychological operations, disinformation, propaganda, and active measures. In gathering this material, the scope of those terms was set relatively broadly, with the requirement that every source provide serious, in-depth treatment of one or more region, historical period, theory or methodology. As the overall title of the bibliography, the term "psychological operations" is understood here as any action taken in wartime or in peacetime by a nation or an agency of that nation to advance national policy by influencing the perceptions and attitudes of a diplomatic or military adversary without direct military force. Such actions range from the formation of a national arms reduction position to influencing indigenous populations in counterinsurgency campaigns; actions may occur in an international setting over many months or at the small-unit tactical level of a military campaign. The bibliography attempts to cover the entire range of those possibilities. Also included are several Soviet and Western theoretical works that treat psychological operations in the context of human communications and psychology.

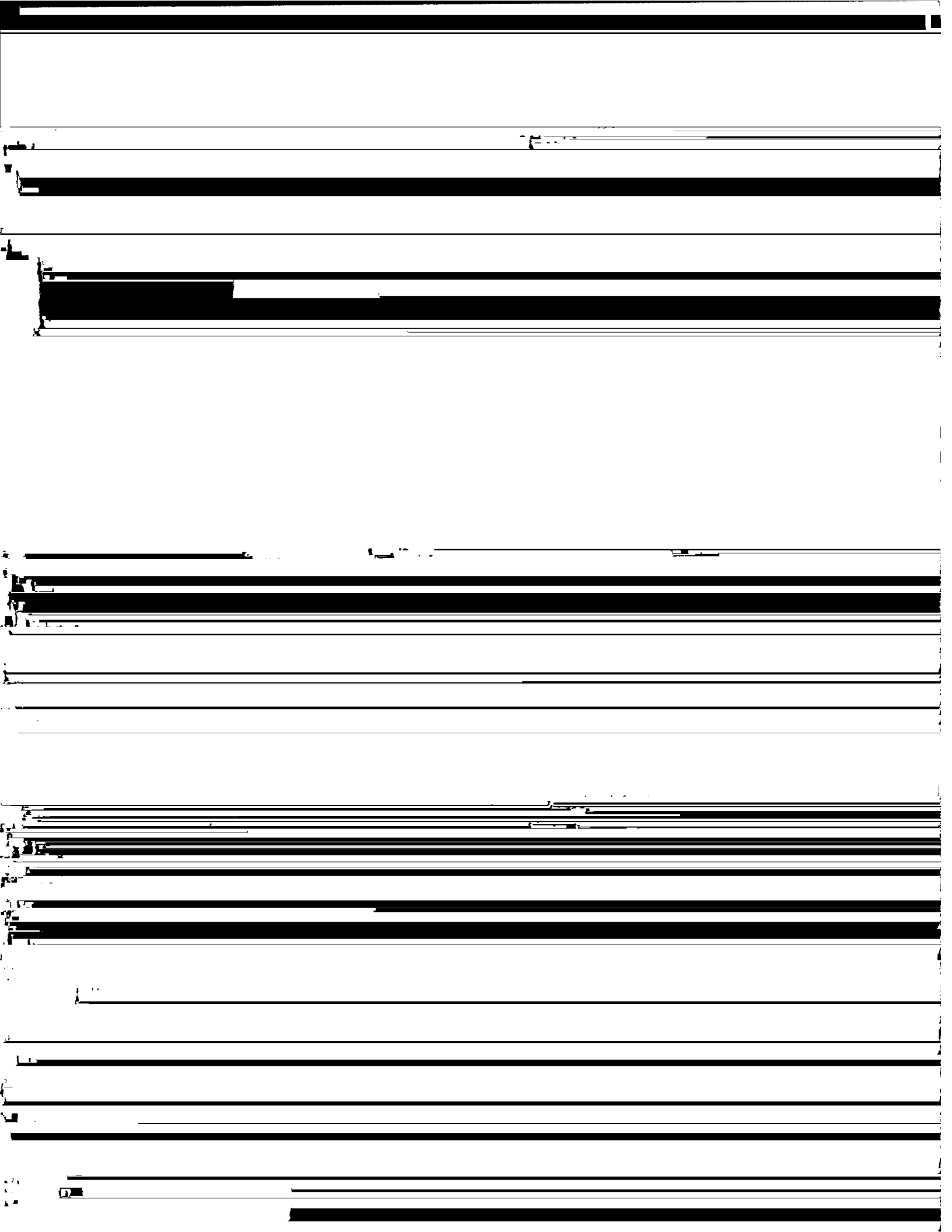
II. STRUCTURE OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the main section, nearly all the annotated books and articles were published after 1980; a few items of unique value have earlier imprints. A separate retrospective section lists about 100 of the most relevant sources printed before l980 and already annotated elsewhere. That category contains mainly monographs. A second retrospective listing contains monographs recognized as seminal, basic texts in the psyop field. The majority of sources are in English, or have been translated into English; but, because of the importance of Soviet and German theory and practice in this topic, the bibliography contains a number of books and articles available only in those languages, with translations of their titles. Those sources can be translated completely or in part if deemed useful.

Within the two annotated sections, material is arranged in two separate listings. The second arranges sources alphabetically by author (or by title, when no author is given). The first arrangement breaks the citations down into six categories: General Treatments, International Psyop, Psyop Case Studies, Soviet Psyop, Theoretical Treatments, and United States Psyop. Sources are placed first in the category to which the largest portion of their material applies; sources covering multiple topics are assigned to additional categories. All sources containing detailed accounts of past psychological operations are listed under "Case Studies." The "International Psyop" heading is used for all operations besides Soviet and United States, and for operations directed by the Soviet Union or the United States at a specific country or area. Listings within the six categories are also alphabetical. The retrospective (nonannotated) sections are arranged alphabetically only.

III. SEARCH METHODOLOGY

Citations were gathered from computer databases covering monographs, newspapers and journals, both in the Library of Congress and elsewhere, using all possible search terms; from existing bibliographies on the subject; from citations in sources already located; from specialized military data files; and from visual inspection of stacks in pertinent sections of the Library of Congress and the Pentagon Library. A few monographs in English and in Russian are not annotated because hard copy is not yet available in any collection; all available information on them has been provided. The search attempted to provide broad coverage of geographical areas and time periods, while avoiding redundancy. But for coverage of current Soviet and U.S. psyop, the listings include a high percentage of the available material that meets the



Jowett, Garth S. and Victoria O'Donnell. Propaganda and Persuasion. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1986. 286 p. HM263.J69.

Defines and traces the history of propaganda since the Romans, with many specific examples, both military and civilian. Propaganda institutions in the modern world: the media and mass audiences, with examples of how and by whom they are used. A detailed scholarly overview of the phenomenon, including main types such as the big lie, black propaganda, etc. Five case studies, including the Pueblo incident and South African propaganda in the United States. Describes methodology of modern propaganda.

[redacted]

B. International Psyop

Blasier, Cole and Carmelo Mesa-Lago, eds. Cuba in the World. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979. 320 p. F1788.2.C82.

Describes Cuban relations with the Third World, the United States, the Soviet Union, and other countries. Topics include Cuban subversion and how it is resisted; refurbishing the Cuban image; the dynamics at work in each relationship; Cuba's role in wars of national liberation in Angola, Puerto Rico, and the Middle East; and how Cuba identifies its national interests and uses nonmilitary methods to pursue them.

Breuer, William B. The Secret War with Germany--Deception, Espionage and Dirty Tricks. Novato, California: Presidio, 1987. 318 p. D810.S7B68 1988.

Cites specific World War II operations, outside the context of larger campaigns. Separate, brief accounts, with some historical background. How plans were formed and executed, much on behind-the-scenes preparations, all culminating in the D-Day invasion.

Brown, Anthony Cave. Bodyguard of Lies--British Use of Deceptive Measures in World War II. New York: Harper and Row, 1975. 947 p., ill. D810.S7C63 1975.

Origins of special measures in 1938-1942, with a detailed account of all events and how war events affected secret operations. The battle between British and German agents, and the effort to influence the German popular mood toward the war and demoralize the military. Political operations in the

[redacted]

Burgess, L.K. War Since 1945--Seminar and Symposium--the Malayan Emergency, a Study of a Successful Counterinsurgency War. Quantico, Virginia: Marine Corps Command and Staff College,

Cline, Ray S., James Arnold Miller, and Roger E. Kanet, eds. Asia in Soviet Global Strategy. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987. 193 p. UA770.A85 1987.

The background and development of Soviet interests in Asia, in military, economic, political and cultural areas. Covers Korea, China, Vietnam, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and the Persian Gulf. Creates a broad picture of cultural barriers, problems and goals of the Slavic-Oriental relationship. Soviet methods in probing for new bases of relationship, especially in the Soviet-Chinese connection. Short, concise outlines on individual topics.

Cruickshank, Charles. The Fourth Arm--Psychological Warfare 1938-1945. London: Davis-Poynter, 1977. 200 p. D810.P7G7247.

The activities of the British Political Warfare Executive in World War II, emphasizing organization and function, policy, intelligence operations, themes, techniques, special targets and

Ellison, Herbert J., ed. Soviet Policy toward Western Europe--Implications for the Atlantic Alliance. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983. 322 p. D1065.S65S69 1983.

Soviet perceptions and goals in Western Europe. Soviet use of diplomatic pressure, especially to lure West Germany away from the West. The basis of the Soviet position and security needs. How it deals with various political factions in the West, such as the French noncommunist left and the Western communist parties. Propaganda on peace, military buildup, and nuclear weapons.

Farago, Ladislas, ed. German Psychological Warfare. New York: Arno Press, 1972. 302 p. UB277.G3F37 1972.

A study of Nazism's psychological basis through history, and the use of that base in World War II. Emphasizes national culture and psychological traits, especially the will to make war. Discusses morale factors, tactics and strategy and their effects, and the psychology of civilian, military and combat life. Bibliography.

Flugblatterpropaganda im Zweiten Weltkrieg--Dokumentation und Analyse (Leaflet Propaganda in the Second World War--Documentation and Analysis). Bremen: Die Gesellschaft, 1980. 69 p. D810.P8F58 1980.

The military uses, principles and methods of propaganda leaflets; how leaflets are put together and distributed, how results are analyzed. The war of nerves between German and British propaganda campaigns. Extensive plates illustrating various types of propaganda document and approach. Extensive documentation and notes.

Golan, Galia. The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World. Boston: Austin and Unwin, I988.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Hadamovsky, Eugen. Propaganda and National Power. New York: Arno, 1972. 187 p. HM263.H2413 1972.

By a one-time deputy to Goebbels, a description of early propaganda theories and methods in the anti-liberal campaign of the thirties. Methods: cultural appeal to audience, reminder of World War I losses, special attention to German intelligentsia, use of radio, mass meetings, the press.

Hahn, Walter F., ed. Central America and the Reagan Doctrine. Lanham, Maryland: Center for Strategic Relations at Boston University, 1987. 318 p. F1439.5.C452 1987.

A collection of essays from Strategic Review on covert operations in Central America in the context of regional and world relationships. Note especially section IV, on issues and measures taken between the United States and Central American nations, in response to Soviet expansionism and active measures. How the Sandinistas and other guerrilla groups have won power; the dynamics of political events with which the United States must deal with the region. Bibliographical notes.

Hahn, Walter F. and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jr., eds. The Atlantic Community in Crisis--A Redefinition of the Transatlantic Relationship. New York: Pergamon, 1979. 389 p. D1065.U5A896.

A deep analysis of the motives and needs of postwar Europe. Note especially section I, on psychological change and the background of relationships within the Atlantic alliance. Also section IV, "The Political Challenge of Finlandization," including psychological devices and counterdevices used by East and West in the battle for the minds of Europeans. A solid psychological description of the factors at work in this context.

Heikal, Mohamed. Iran: The Untold Story of America's Adventure and Its Consequences. New York: Pantheon, 1981. 217 p. DS318.H4 1982.

The shock of the Iranian revolution to American policy and policymakers, as a lesson in the need to accomodate cultural differences in order to exert influence. Deep cultural background behind events--the fall of the Shah, American reaction, its strategic position and errors. Good documentation of the background and diplomatic struggle surrounding the revolution.

Herzstein, Robert Edwin. The War that Hitler Won. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1978. 491 p., ill. D810.P7G338.

Describes "the most famous propaganda campaign in history"--the methods of Joseph Goebbels in arousing German public reaction, particularly against Britain and the Soviet Union. Use of the media, ideology and film. Heavily documented, with bibliography.

Hosmer, Stephen T. Constraints on United States Strategy in Third World Conflicts. New York: Crane Russak, 1987. 177 p. UA23.H566 1987.

Divided into: Part I, Present Limitations, and Part II, Implications for the Future. Topics include: attitudes in Third-World countries and how the United States must heed them for successful relations; uses of and defenses against covert aggression; development of United States public opinion towards conflict, post-Vietnam; constraints of avoiding conflict with Soviet Union; and suggestions for aiding other countries in countering covert and overt aggression, using available resources best in a world of limited military options. No full case studies, many cases cited as examples.

Kanet, Roger, ed. The Limits of Soviet Power in the Developing World. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Kirchner, Klaus. Flugblatterpropaganda im zweiten Weltkrieg (Leaflet Propaganda in the Second World War). 7 vols. Erlangen: Verlag D und C, 1972. D810.P7G7556.

Mainly plates of leaflets and newspaper stories dropped and circulated by the British and Americans over and in Germany, with a short text describing the campaign, with detailed statistics on the publication and distribution effort, a bibliography and catalog by year. German countermeasures described.

Laidi, Zaki, ed. The Third World and the Soviet Union. London: Zed Books, 1988. 125 p. D888.S65U7813 1988.

How third-world countries view the Soviet Union, according to their own cultural values. Divided into Black Africa, the Ba'athists of Iraq and Syria, Turkey, the ASEAN nations, Viet Nam, India, and Latin America. Economic, political and cultural factors, with brief histories of the relationships in each case and deep documentation. Why the Soviet Union is seen as a model given various combinations of those factors. Examples of and reasons for Soviet successes and failures in its cultural offensive.

Leiken, Robert S. Soviet Strategy in Latin America. Washington: Praeger, 1982. 124 p. UA602.3.L44 1982.

Describes the wide range of methods used in Soviet strategy in Latin America: cultural organizations, bribery, espionage, media control, disinformation. Cuba as local agent. The reaction to such campaigns by Latin Americans. Traces the evolution of

Soviet goals through the last decade. Suggestions for peaceful United States counterprograms.

Magnus, Ralph H., ed. Afghan Alternatives: Issues, Options and Policies. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Transaction Books, 1985. 221 pp. DS371.2 1985.

A collection of articles by Middle East scholars, on Soviet internal perceptions, aims and policies related to resistance movements in Afghanistan, and the United States role there. Evaluates policies and options, including propaganda use by the United States and Soviets. The atrocity issue and coercive military diplomacy used to "win" the people. Emphasis on the force of events internal to the country and their effect on international policy. Bibliographical notes.

Mendelssohn, Peter de. Japan's Political Warfare. New York: Arno, 1972. 192 p. D810.P7J355.

Reprinted from a 1944 monograph. The machinery and methods of Japanese wartime propaganda, who controlled information distribution, including newspapers, censorship, film and mass meetings. The ideology and policy behind the campaigns, and the unique Japanese concept of propaganda and its uses. Written to explore a hitherto little-known subject and destroy the myth that the Japanese were not effective in this area.

Nale, Antonio S. Employment of Natives in Counterinsurgency Operations in the Philippines. Master's thesis, Army Command and General Staff College, 1983. 114 p.

Not available in Library of Congress collection. Includes case studies of effective and ineffective use of natives in counterinsurgency (in Malaya and Laos, respectively), and in the Philippines, 1946-1981. Lessons learned in effective use of psychological operations and civic action in previous campaigns and applied in the Philippines. Application of this case to future CI operations with similar environments. Lists preparatory steps to ensure maximum effect.

Owen, David. Battle of Wits: A History of Psychology and Deception in Modern Warfare. London: Cooper, 1978. 207 p. UB275.O93.

General treatment beginning with World War I; no theory or deep analysis. Points out the place of psychological operations in World War II, including German use of radio and American counteruse at Normandy. Postwar applications such as the 1948 Malayan campaign to isolate guerrillas from the population, seen as a possible pattern for future operations.

Rose, Clive. Campaigns against Western Defense--NATO's Adversaries and Critics. New York: St. Martin's, 1985. 318 p. UA646.3.R6 1985.

Note especially part II, "Adversaries: International Front Organizations and Soviet Peace Campaigns." Postwar lessons and mistakes in handling the Soviet Union's propaganda. With new elements in the world situation, the role of nuclear weapons and a misunderstood drive for peace as used by Soviet propaganda organizations, to achieve national goals without war. Bibliographical notes and detailed listing of peace and front organizations and their members, considered tools of the Soviet program.

Selections from the Public Opinion Quarterly. New York: Arno, 1972. 345 p. HM263.I64.

Originally published in 1942, reprinted in the series International Propaganda and Communications. A collection of essays to inform the wartime public of the "public opinion problems" of World War II. Describes in detail the Allied use of psychological warfare to defeat the enemy. How audiences are evaluated and the message is tailored to them. Many examples, charts, and graphs comparing cultural groups. A detailed description of organized propaganda methodology, using America of 1942 as a case study.

Short, Anthony. The Communist Insurgency in Malaya 1948-1960. New York: Crane, Russak, 1975. 547 p. DS597.S47.

See especially "Battle for the Mind," a detailed account of insurgent and counterinsurgency methods in the Malaya campaign, and the formula for ultimate defeat of the guerrillas, including use of psychological operations.

Die Vierte Front (The Fourth Front). Berlin: Militarverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1977. 132 p., ill. UB275.V53.

Psychological operations seen as a weapon of imperialism in the contemporary war of ideology, and the psychological basis of anticommunism. Emphasis on application in West German-East German conflict, both military and civilian, on the background of overall European-Soviet politics. Discussion of methods, especially use of the mass media. Prescriptions for combatting Western psychological operations by the communist world.

Vo, Nguyen Giap. The Military Art of People's War--Selected Writings. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970. 332 p. DS557.A6V59 1970.

Description of how the Viet Cong combined military and political/psychological operations to mount all-out attack on the French, then the Americans. Overall historical context of the movement and Western presence in Southeast Asia after World War II. Western failure to understand local conditions. Much propaganda here, but a picture of the mindset, position and methods of the Viet Cong, written before the final outcome of the war.

Whelan, Joseph G., and Dixon, Michael J. The Soviet Union in the Third World--Threat to World Peace? New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1986. 486 p., ill. D888.S65W48 1986.

The role and importance of the Third World, with historical background, to the United States-Soviet policy relationship. Soviet aims and devices used--military, cultural, and political--by regions. Covers all "third-world" nations, giving the positive and negative results from efforts made in each area and for each type of approach. Very complete bibliography, divided by subtopic and region.

C. Psyop Case Studies

Adomeit, Hannes. Soviet Risk-Taking and Crisis Behavior--A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis. London: Allen and Unwin, 1982. 377 pp. DK266.A48 1982.

Includes two case studies on the Berlin situation (1948 and 1961), studying the psychological factors at work on both sides. How the chess game is played on both sides, in theory and practice, calculating risk vs. gain

American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences. The Art and Science of Psychological Operations. Washington: Department of the Army, 1976. 2 vols., 1173 pp. UB275.A43 1976.

Successful and unsuccessful twentieth-century applications of psychological operations, in a collection of essays. Military and civilian measures and factors of success. Some very deep theoretical discussion of topics such as human communications; modern, postwar case studies. Much information on the use of the media, both in theory and in case studies. Bibliography.

Barron, John. KGB--The Secret Work of Secret Agents. New York: Readers Digest Press, 1974. 462 p. HV8225.B37.

A detailed narrative of foreign plots and active measures under the KGB. Marxist doctrine as applied abroad and for domestic control. The work of individual agents, and their assignments and functions in the world of espionage and dirty tricks.

Burgess, L.K. War Since 1945--Seminar and Symposium--the Malayan Emergency, a Study of a Successful Counterinsurgency War. Quantico, Virginia: Marine Corps Command and Staff College, 1983. 170 p.

A research report (not in the Library of Congress holdings), describing the British counterinsurgency campaign's success against Malayan communists. Listing and discussion of the five main factors: mastery of jungle warfare, resettlement programs preventing guerrilla access to recruits and supplies, an effective intelligence operation, effective command and control, and effective public information and psychological warfare.

Chamorro, Edgar. Packaging the Contras: A Case of CIA Disinformation. New York: Institute for Media Analysis, 1987. 78 p.

A first-hand account of the early years of the Nicaraguan contra rebels, showing how the CIA developed the contra image, packaged and marketed it; illustrates the use of disinformation in covert and overt American foreign policy.

Cruickshank, Charles. The Fourth Arm--Psychological Warfare 1938-1945. London: Davis-Poynter, 1977. 200 p. D810.P7G7247.

The activities of the British Political Warfare Executive in World War II, emphasizing organization and function, policy, intelligence operations, themes, techniques, special targets and propaganda in military operations, and the effect of such campaigns. D-Day as a major example.

Dailey, Brian D. and Patrick J. Parker, eds. Soviet Strategic Deception. Lexington, Mass. and Toronto: Lexington Press and D.C. Heath, 1987. 538 p. UA770.C685.

A collection of essays on the Soviet organizational structure for deception and active measures--tradition, doctrine, and themes of deception and disinformation, and active measures against democratic cultures. Use of ideology, language and diplomacy, in arms control talks and perceptions management. Regional deception programs in West Germany, Nicaragua, and the Mideast. Impact of such programs on nuclear, space and intelligence policy. Detailed analysis of all topics, deeply documented. Covers military and political aspects of the topic.

Daniel, Donald C. and Katherine K. Herbig, eds. Strategic Military Deception. New York: Pergamon, 1982. 311 p. U163.S76 1982.

A collection of articles on the organization, theory, approaches, game theory use, counterdeception measures of communist forces beginning in World War II. Case analysis and statistical

breakdowns. Topics include: the Soviets in World War II; the Chinese Civil War; the Middle East in 1973; and Soviet views and use of deception in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. Describes how the United States and Soviet Union grudgingly installed deception as part of military doctrine. Theoretical sections are scholarly and technical. A good background for understanding terminology and concepts.

Farago, Ladislas, ed. German Psychological Warfare. New York: Arno Press, 1972. 302 p. UB277.G3F37 1972.

A study of Nazism's psychological basis through history, and the use of that base in World War II. Emphasizes national culture and psychological traits, especially the will to make war. Discusses morale factors, tactics and strategy and their effects, and the psychology of civilian, military and combat life. Bibliography.

Flugblatterpropaganda im Zweiten Weltkrieg--Dokumentation und Analyse (Leaflet Propaganda in the Second World War--Documentation and Analysis). Bremen: Die Gesellschaft, 1980. 69 p. D810.P8F58 1980.

The military uses, principles and methods of propaganda leaflets; how leaflets are put together and distributed, how results are analyzed. The war of nerves between German and British propaganda campaigns. Extensive plates illustrating various types of propaganda document and approach. Extensive documentation and notes.

Hadamovsky, Eugen. Propaganda and National Power. New York: Arno, 1972. 187 p. HM263.H2413 1972.

By a one-time deputy to Goebbels, a description of early propaganda theories and methods in the anti-liberal campaign of the thirties. Methods: cultural appeal to audience, reminder of World War I losses, special attention to German intelligentsia, use of radio, mass meetings, the press.

Haswell, Jock. The Tangled Web--The Art of Tactical and Strategic Deception. Wendover, England: J. Goodchild, 1975. 174 p., ill. U167.5.D37H37 1985.

A broad treatment of deception through the ages, since the Assyrians. Anecdotal, undocumented accounts from history, but with a solid, consistent account of the methods and rationale of deception measures. A short treatment of the basic principles used in each case follows the account of what happened.

Herzstein, Robert Edwin. The War that Hitler Won. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1978. 491 p., ill. D810.P7G338.

Describes "the most famous propaganda campaign in history"--the methods of Joseph Goebbels in arousing German public reaction, particularly against Britain and the Soviet Union. Use of the media, ideology and film. Heavily documented, with bibliography.

Jonsson, Christer. Soviet Bargaining Behavior--The Nuclear Test Ban Case. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979. 266 p. JX1974.7.J66.

Negotiations of 1958-1963 as a test case, showing Soviet views and methods. Interaction and gamesmanship of United States and Soviets, and internal bargaining within each side. How United States expectations and images of the Soviets were changed. Does not concentrate on psychological operations, but is a good study of Soviet psychology, organization and approach to high-stakes international bargaining and exploitation of foreign weaknesses, and United States vulnerability to such measures. Extensive bibliography.

Jowett, Garth S. and Victoria O'Donnell. Propaganda and Persuasion. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1986. 286 p. HM263.J69.

Defines and traces the history of propaganda since the Romans, with many specific examples, both military and civilian. Propaganda institutions in the modern world: the media and mass audiences, with examples of how and by whom they are used. A detailed scholarly overview of the phenomenon, including main types such as the big lie, black propaganda, etc. Five case studies, including the Pueblo incident and South African propaganda in the United States. Describes methodology of modern propaganda.

Kirchner, Klaus. Flugblatterpropaganda im zweiten Weltkrieg (Leaflet Propaganda in the Second World War). 7 vols. Erlangen: Verlag D und C, 1972. D810.P7G7556.

Mainly plates of leaflets and newspaper stories dropped and circulated by the British and Americans over and in Germany, with a short text describing the campaign, with detailed statistics on the publication and distribution effort, a bibliography and catalog by year. German countermeasures described.

Leites, Nathan. Psychopolitical Analysis--Selected Writings of Nathan Leites. New York: Halstead Press, 1977. 384 p. DA74.5.L44.

Analyzes the psychology of international political behavior, including propaganda uses. Twentieth-century trends, including Stalin, the Vietnam psychological operations campaigns, the Bolsheviks, China, and violence as a political strategy. Analyzes why South Vietnam failed and Viet Cong succeeded in popular appeal. Scientific methodology and descriptions used throughout.

Magnus, Ralph H., ed. Afghan Alternatives: Issues, Options and Policies. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Transaction Books, 1985. 221 pp. DS371.2 1985.

A collection of articles by Middle East scholars, on Soviet internal perceptions, aims and policies related to resistance movements in Afghanistan, and the United States role there. Evaluates policies and options, including propaganda use by the United States and Soviets. The atrocity issue and coercive military diplomacy used to "win" the people. Emphasis on the force of events internal to the country and their effect on international policy. Bibliographical notes.

Mendelssohn, Peter de. Japan's Political Warfare. New York: Arno, 1972. 192 p. D810.P7J355.

Reprinted from a l944 monograph. The machinery and methods of Japanese wartime propaganda, who controlled information distribution, including newspapers, censorship, film and mass meetings. The ideology and policy behind the campaigns, and the unique Japanese concept of propaganda and its uses. Written to explore a hitherto little-known subject and destroy the myth that the Japanese were not effective in this area.

Nale, Antonio S. Employment of Natives in Counterinsurgency Operations in the Philippines. Master's thesis, Army Command and General Staff College, 1983. 114 p.

Not available in Library of Congress collection. Includes case studies of effective and ineffective use of natives in counterinsurgency (in Malaya and Laos, respectively), and in the Philippines, 1946-1981. Lessons learned in effective use of psychological operations and civic action in previous campaigns and applied in the Philippines. Application of this case to future CI operations with similar environments. Lists preparatory steps to ensure maximum effect.

Owen, David. Battle of Wits: A History of Psychology and Deception in Modern Warfare. London: Cooper, 1978. 207 p. UB275.O93.

General treatment beginning with World War I; no theory or deep analysis. Points out the place of psychological operations in World War II, including German use of radio and American counteruse at Normandy. Postwar applications such as the 1948 Malayan campaign to isolate guerrillas from the population, seen as a possible pattern for future operations.

Schuh, Horst. Das Gerucht--Psychologie des Geruchts im Krieg (Rumor--The Psychology of Rumor in War). Munich; Bernard & Graefe, 1981. 117 p., ill. U22.3.S345.

A general definition of rumor, with specific applications in both world wars. How psychological war techniques are used on enemy and friendly populations. How to analyze and defend against rumor, in view of its goals and methods.

Selections from the Public Opinion Quarterly. New York: Arno, 1972. 345 p. HM263.I64.

Originally published in 1942, reprinted in the series International Propaganda and Communications. A collection of essays to inform the wartime public of the "public opinion problems" of World War II. Describes in detail the Allied use of psychological warfare to defeat the enemy. How audiences are evaluated and the message is tailored to them. Many examples, charts, and graphs comparing cultural groups. A detailed description of organized propaganda methodology, using America of 1942 as a case study.

Shattering Europe's Defense Consensus--The Antinuclear Protest Movement and the Future of NATO. Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985. 226 p. UA646.3.S436 1985.

Andropov's campaign of 1982-83 to intensify the European peace movements and block nuclear deployment in Europe. Describes the peace parties in each West European country, its origins, structure, and philosophy, and assesses the success of Andropov's program in each case. Bibliographical notes.

Short, Anthony. The Communist Insurgency in Malaya 1948-1960. New York: Crane, Russak, 1975. 547 p. DS597.S47.

See especially "Battle for the Mind," a detailed account of insurgent and counterinsurgency methods in the Malaya campaign, and the formula for ultimate defeat of the guerrillas, including use of psychological operations.

Talbott, Strobe. Endgame--The Inside Story of SALT II. New York: Harper and Row, 1979. 319 p. JX1974.75.T34 1979.

Central comparison of SALT negotiations to a bargaining game. Historical background, then a chronological description of events leading up to the 1979 signing date. How position changes on one side affected psychology and positioning of the other, on the background of international situations and perceived goals. Detailed analysis of the constant adjustment process as those changes occurred.

Thayer, Thomas C. War without Fronts--The American Experience in Viet Nam. Boulder, Col: Westview Press, 1985. 276 p., ill. DS557.7.T453 1985.

Based on previously classified information, gathered from 1965-1972, written by an assistant to Robert McNamara during the Vietnamese war. Both civilian and military aspects covered, including chapters on pacification and civilian operations. Much raw data, statistics, tables. Evaluation of trends in narrative summary. The concept of "secure" population, refugees, the role of indigenous forces. Viet Cong defections, antisubversion activities.

U.S. Department of State. Contemporary Soviet Propaganda and Disinformation--A Conference Report. Washington: Department of State, 1987. 337 p. DK289.C66 1987.

A collection of articles on theory and application of Soviet methods in international political psychology. Topics include semantics and theory, case studies in application, internal impact of propaganda campaigns, and evaluation of the Soviet mindset and programs aimed against the West. Colloquium format, with presentation, panel discussion, and commentary. Extensive bibliographical notes.

D. Soviet Union Psyop

Adomeit, Hannes. Soviet Risk-Taking and Crisis Behavior--A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis. London: Allen and Unwin, 1982. 377 pp. DK266.A48 1982.

Includes two case studies on the Berlin situation (1948 and 1961), studying the psychological factors at work on both sides. How the chess game is played on both sides, in theory and practice, calculating risk vs. gain.

Armstrong, Richard N. Soviet Operational Deception. Ft. Leavenworth, Kans.: Combat Studies Institute, 1989.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Arnold, Anthony. Afghanistan--the Soviet Invasion in Perspective (Revised Edition). Stanford; Hoover Institution, 1985 179 p. DS371.2.A76 1985.

The background of Russian and Soviet relations with Afghanistan. See especially chapters on "The Drive for Political Control" and "Occupational Politics," on Soviet policy for overcoming local resistance and international objections to the invasion. Description and evaluation of measures taken, and use of propaganda and the media. Suggestions on how the United States should relate to the Afghan resistance movements. Short bibliography.

Artsibasov, Ivan. In Disregard of the Law. Moscow: Progress, 1982. 268 p., ill. DK270.A88 1982.

A collection of case studies, copious documentation and photographs, to prove that the United States is a warmonger and persistent aggressor. Links current and past United States practices around the world with Nazi methodology and atrocities. Imperialist campaigns of racism and genocide, using the media. A good example of Soviet historical revisionism to prove a propaganda point.

Barron, John. KGB--The Secret Work of Secret Agents. New York: Readers Digest Press, 1974. 462 p. HV8225.B37.

A detailed narrative of foreign plots and active measures under the KGB. Marxist doctrine as applied abroad and for domestic control. The work of individual agents, and their assignments and functions in the world of espionage and dirty tricks.

Bittman, Ladislav. The Deception Game--Czech Intelligence and Soviet Political Warfare. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972. 246 p. UB251.C95B58 1972.

First-hand accounts of several cases, such as the 1964 Czech disinformation campaign against West Germany (operation Neptune), and several case studies of anti-American disinformation programs, 1964-1966, all very detailed. Shows how East European intelligence and psychological operations mimic Soviet methods and doctrine. Use of disinformation in 1968 Czech invasion.

------. The KGB and Soviet Disinformation. Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985. 227 p. UB251.S65 B58 1985.

Active measures described by a former Czech intelligence agent. Specific data on how Czech and Soviet agents work to deceive the West and manipulate public opinion and policy. Much background on the development of organizations and techniques in the 1960s and 1970s, combined with contemporary cases. Detailed description of the Soviet theory of disinformation, its perceptions and objectives.

Bolshakov, Vladimir Viktorovich. Agressiya protiv razuma (Aggression against Reason) Moscow: Molodaya gvardiya, 254 p. E876.B648 1984.

Subtitle: "Chronicle of Transgressions." How the ruling classes of capitalist nations conduct ideological manipulation of their youth and of the youth in socialist nations. Follows the development of capitalist antisocialist strategy after World War II. Special emphasis on the role of Israel and Zionist agents, the CIA's secret operations, other American agencies, and South Africa, all part of the propaganda and psychological campaign against the communist world. A good sample of Soviet anti-western print propaganda, and the issues and targets it uses.

Cline, Ray S., James Arnold Miller, and Roger E. Kanet, eds. Asia in Soviet Global Strategy. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987. 193 p. UA770.A85 1987.

The background and development of Soviet interests in Asia, in military, economic, political and cultural areas. Covers Korea, China, Vietnam, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and the Persian Gulf. Creates a broad picture of cultural barriers, problems and goals of the Slavic-Oriental relationship. Soviet methods in probing for new bases of relationship, especially in the Soviet-Chinese connection. Short, concise outlines on individual topics.

Crozier, Brian, Drew Middleton, and Jeremy Murray-Brown. The War Called Peace. New York: Universe Books, 1985. 307 p. D843.C742 1985.

Self-described as "A history of the cold war," describing Soviet attitudes and devices. Three journalists examine United States responses and the influence upon them of events such as McCarthyism and Viet Nam through 1982. The psychological/ political push and pull of the two great powers, and its effect on the rest of the world. The international context for Soviet propaganda and psychological gambits. How United States response has been conditioned.

Dailey, Brian D. and Patrick J. Parker, eds. Soviet Strategic Deception. Lexington, Mass. and Toronto: Lexington Press and D.C. Heath, 1987. 538 p. UA770.C685.

A collection of essays on the Soviet organizational structure for deception and active measures--tradition, doctrine, and themes of deception and disinformation, and active measures against democratic cultures. Use of ideology, language and diplomacy, in arms control talks, and perceptions management. Regional deception programs in West Germany, Nicaragua, and the Mideast. Impact of such programs on nuclear, space and intelligence policy. Detailed analysis of all topics, deeply documented. Covers military and political aspects of the topic.

Daniel, Donald C. and Katherine K. Herbig, eds. Strategic Military Deception. New York: Pergamon, I982. 311 p. U163.S76 1982.

A collection of articles on the organization, theory, approaches, game theory use, counterdeception measures of communist forces beginning in World War II. Case analysis and statistical breakdowns. Topics include: the Soviets in World War II; the Chinese Civil War; the Middle East in 1973; and Soviet views and use of deception in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. Describes how the United States and Soviet Union installed deception as part of military doctrine. Theoretical sections are scholarly and technical. A good background for understanding terminology and concepts.

Dmitrov, Ivo. Neprimirimi polyusi (Irreconcilable Poles) Sofia: Narodna mladezh, 1979. 114 p. HX44.D465.

Ideological war, on the background of two opposite systems of government. Western use of psychological operations as a major obstacle to closer relations. Explanation and "correction" on the aims and theories of Western psyops. The history of operations, how they work, materials and methods. The methodology and aims of communist propaganda as a counter to the Western program, to protect the intended target population from false information.

Donaldson, Robert H. The Soviet Union in the Third World: Successes and Failures. Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1981. 485 p. DK274.S65 1965.

The Soviet Union in Latin America, Cuba, Africa, the Middle East, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, India, Viet Nam, and the Moslem world. Especially good are the summary chapters, analyzing the reasons for success or failure in each area. Alliance with nationalist movements as a tactic. Priority of money and arms in Soviet thinking for these regions. Analyzes how the Soviet choice of sides is made in national conflicts, and how their

choices have worked out in various cases. Use of media in disinformation campaigns.

Ellison, Herbert J., ed. Soviet Policy toward Western Europe--Implications for the Atlantic Alliance. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983. 322 p. D1065.S65S69 1983.

Soviet perceptions and goals in Western Europe. Soviet use of diplomatic pressure, especially to lure West Germany away from the West. The basis of the Soviet position and security needs. How it deals with various political factions in the West, such as the French noncommunist left and the Western communist parties. Propaganda on peace, military buildup and nuclear weapons.

Flynn, Gregory, and Hans Rattinger, eds. The Public and Atlantic Defense. London: Rowham and Allanheld, 1985. 398 p., ill. UA646.3.P78 1985.

Articles by American and European scholars on American and European public opinion on NATO and issues of Atlantic defense. Statistical poll results and interpretation for populations in NATO countries, on communism, Soviet goals and peace campaigns, the nuclear issues, and their country's policy toward the United States. Bibliographies.

Godson, Roy. Intelligence Requirements for the 1990s. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1989.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Golan, Galia. The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World. Boston: Austin and Unwin, 1988.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Golitsyn, Anatoliy. New Lies for Old. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1984. 412 p. HX518.S8G63 1984.

A former KGB officer describes the effort of the Soviet Union to de-Stalinize government-sponsored active measures, returning to Lenin's principles of the role of deception in furthering the national interest, and of taking peacetime advantage of every weakness in capitalist society.

Gordeyev, V.B. and Pletnikov. Sovremennaya ideologicheskaya bor'ba (The Ideological Struggle Today). Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury, 1983. 108 p. HX44.G583 1983.

Discusses "problems and tendencies," as an aid to the Soviet propagandist. How the imperialist West is leading an all-out

psychological war against the communist world. Economic and military issues of the 1970's seen in this context. Examines the "industry of lies" of NATO, the CIA, and other organizations, building myths such as the Soviet military threat. Techniques used to bend actual facts to suit ideology.

Gordon, Joseph S., ed. Psychological Operations--The Soviet Challenge. Boulder: Westview Press, 1988. 216 p. DK278.P79 1988.

A collection of articles on the use of information as a military weapon by the Soviet Union. An overview of the organization and potential of the Soviet program, with psychological reasons for its use, the perceived security requirement. Use in the Third World; case studies (the East German campaign for recognition, the 1983 KAL case). The need of the United States to step up psychological operations from present halfhearted peacetime applications.

Grigoryants, A.G. "Psikhologicheskaya voyna" i sovetskaya kul'tura (Psychological Warfare and Soviet Culture). Moscow: Moskovskiy rabochiy, 1985. l08 p. UB275.G75 1985.

A critical analysis of disinformation and anti-disinformation. The uses of racism and nationalism in bourgeois culture. How the ideas and prejudices of various parts of society are used in psychological campaigns in the West, with anticommunism as a major weapon.

Hazan, Baruch. Soviet Impregnational Propaganda. Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1982. 180 p., ill. DK269.5.H39 1982.

The Soviet view of cultural relations with other countries, and their belief that they can overcome cultural differences by using the new Soviet man as an example. Stepwise discussion of the elements of the propaganda process, including policy making, penetration of the target's resistance, agents, message contents, responses, and the ultimate output of behavior and opinion. Impregnational propaganda as a subtle turning of target minds away from traditional values, as preparation for targeted campaigns. How relations are established in specific aspects of culture.

Jonsson, Christer. Soviet Bargaining Behavior--The Nuclear Test Ban Case. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979. 266 p. JX1974.7.J66.

Negotiations of 1958-1963 as a test case, showing Soviet views and methods. Interaction and gamesmanship of United States and Soviets, and internal bargaining within each side. How United States expectations and images of the Soviets were changed. Does not concentrate on psychological operations, but

is a good study of Soviet psychology, organization and approach to high-stakes international bargaining and exploitation of foreign weaknesses, and United States vulnerability to such measures. Extensive bibliography.

Kanet, Roger, ed. The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and the Third World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. 233 p., ill. D888.S65 S647 1987.

Selected papers from the Third World Congress for Slavic and East European Studies, Washington, D.C. See especially "The Soviet Union and the New World Information Order," on Soviet information and media policy and its information flow to Third World countries. Controls exerted by world organizations on distorted Soviet information dispersal, and how the Soviet Union has reacted to those controls. See also "Soviet Propaganda and the Process of National Liberation," on the nature, aims, themes, methods and targets of Soviet propaganda on topics such as the arms race, nuclear war, and superpower positions on national liberation movements.

Kanet, Roger, ed. The Limits of Soviet Power in the Developing World. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Kenez, Peter. The Birth of the Propaganda State--Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917-1929. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. 308 p., ill. DK266.3.K43 1985.

An historical, scholarly treatment of the early stages of Soviet propaganda programs and doctrine, beginning in pre-revolutionary years. Explores the concepts of propaganda and its role in the Civil War and New Economic Policy years, and how it became a permanent part of policy. Use of the press, media, government organs, political education drives, and the comsomol; and the relation of propaganda to the arts, agitation methods, and perceived enemies. Extensive bibliography.

Leiken, Robert S. Soviet Strategy in Latin America. Washington: Praeger, 1982. 124 p. UA602.3.L44 1982.

Describes the wide range of methods used in Soviet strategy in Latin America: cultural organizations, bribery, espionage, media

Lektsionnaya propaganda--problemy effektivnosti i kachestva (Propaganda for Readers--Problems of Effectiveness and Quality). Moscow: Znaniye, 1978. 191 p. DK278.L44.

Instructions on improving Soviet written propaganda in the areas of politics, ideology, labor efficiency and "morality." How to organize, evaluate and prepare audiences and deliver the message. Advice on choice of form and medium and audience research methods.

Lowenthal, Richard. Model or Ally?--The Communist Powers in the Developing Countries. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977. 400 p. HX518.S8L63.

Soviet methods and campaigns to win over Third-World countries. How the precepts of Leninism are molded to fit various situations and achieve the Leninist colonial revolution. Soviet expectations versus results. Emphasizes the 1960s, first decade of colonial independence. Analyzes the roots of nationalist movements and cultural elements such as religion. How Soviet emphasis has evolved. Mao's application of another version of Leninism for same purposes. Bibliographical footnotes.

MacDonald, Brian, ed. The Grand Strategy of the Soviet Union. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1983. 167 p., ill. UA770.G69 1984.

A collection of papers, the Institute Proceedings for l982. Note especially "Transforming Strategy into Practice: Two Case Studies," on use of disinformation and espionage by the Soviet Union, from the viewpoint of Canadian policy interests. The Canadian vulnerability to disinformation, disbelief in the threat of Soviet active measures. Examples of recent KGB programs in North America; how the Soviets view their goals and methods. A short summary of Soviet Third-World strategy since 1950. An article by Richard Pipes on Soviet methods, with suggested countermeasures.

Magnus, Ralph H., ed. Afghan Alternatives: Issues, Options and Policies. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Transaction Books, 1985. 221 pp. DS371.2 1985.

A collection of articles by Middle East scholars, on Soviet internal perceptions, aims and policies related to resistance movements in Afghanistan, and the United States role there. Evaluates policies and options, including propaganda use by the United States and Soviets. The atrocity issue and coercive military diplomacy used to "win" the people. Emphasis on the force of events internal to the country and their effect on international policy. Bibliographical notes.

Pincher, Chapman. The Secret Offensive. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985. 314 p., ill. UB251.S65P55 1985.

The Soviet view of disinformation and psychological operations, and how it differs from the American. Detailed description of cases of media use of these operations to generate fear. Includes material on nuclear weapons in Europe and SDI as factors in the psychological balance. Propaganda offensives, forgeries, and setups as legitimate elements of Soviet foreign policy.

Rose, Clive. Campaigns against Western Defense--NATO's Adversaries and Critics. New York: St. Martin's, 1985. 318 p. UA646.3.R6 1985.

Note especially part II, "Adversaries: International Front Organizations and Soviet Peace Campaigns." Postwar lessons and mistakes in handling the Soviet Union's propaganda. With new elements in the world situation, the role of nuclear weapons and a misunderstood drive for peace as used by Soviet propaganda organizations, to achieve national goals without war. Bibliographical notes and detailed listing of peace and front organizations and their members, considered tools of the Soviet program.

Rose, Clive. The Soviet Propaganda Network. New York: St. Martin's, l988.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Sanyakoyev, Sh.P., ed. Voprosy sovetskoy vneshnepoliticheskoy propagandy (Problems of Soviet Foreign Policy Propaganda). Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya, l980. 256 p. DK270.V66.

The historical background of propaganda in Marxism-Leninism, the basic directions and methods of anti-imperialist propaganda, the role of the media and other socialist countries in international propaganda campaigns.

Shattering Europe's Defense Consensus--The Antinuclear Protest Movement and the Future of NATO. Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985. 226 p. UA646.3.S436 1985.

Andropov's campaign of 1982-83 to intensify the European peace movements and block nuclear deployment in Europe. Describes the peace parties in each West European country, its origins, structure, and philosophy, and assesses the success of Andropov's program in each case. Bibliographical notes.

Shelyag, V.V., A.D. Glotochkin, and K.K. Platonov, eds. Voyennaya psikhologiya (Military Psychology). Washington: GPO, l976. 408 p. ill. U22.3.V6213.

A textbook for higher military institutes of the Soviet Army and Navy. Scientific psychological analysis of combat conditions. Its background as a field of study, mental processes and states in the military, the psychological makeup of the Soviet serviceman and military groups. Of special interest is material on the psychological processes involved in agitation and propaganda.

Shultz, Richard H., and Roy Godson. Dezinformatsia and Active Measures in Soviet Strategy. New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1984. 211 p., ill. UB251.S65S54 1984.

Mainly describes Soviet propaganda campaigns against the United States, their overall strategy and themes. Includes interviews with defectors, and a detailed analysis of materials and methods used by this Soviet campaign from 1960 to 1980.

Sulc, Lawrence B. Active Measures, Quiet War and Two Socialist Revolutions. Washington: Nathan Hale Institute, 1985. 46 p.

First section is of interest, providing an overview of the current status of the Soviets, in general and in detail, and a set of recommendations for effective Western response to the various devices being used. Examines Western and Soviet views of psyops, and the philosophical background of the latter. Organization and methodology of Soviet active measures--exploitation of target weaknesses. Bibliographical footnotes.

Talbott, Strobe. Endgame--The Inside Story of SALT II. New York:

mindset and programs aimed against the West. Colloquium format, with presentation, panel discussion, and commentary. Extensive bibliographical notes.

Ulam, Adam. Dangerous Relations--The Soviet Union in World Politics 1971-1982. New York: Oxford, 1983. 315 p. DK274.U4 1983.

Pros and cons of detente as a world phenomenon. How both sides explain it to themselves and to the outside world. How the Soviets use their negotiating tactics to overcome inherently weak international positions, such as the Afghan invasion. Soviet nonmilitary tactics to split Western Europe from the Western alliance. A detailed backstage look at the main players in the nomilitary campaign. Some bibliographical notes.

Volkogonov, D.A. The Psychological War. Moscow: Progress, 1986. 240 p. UB275.V6413 1986.

A complete description of Soviet doctrine in conducting nonmilitary campaigns of psychological influence in the contemporary context. Defends psyops as a necessary, integral part of strategic doctrine to preserve Soviet security against the efforts of the capitalist world to destabilize it. Historical background, description, means and philosophy.

Volkogonov, D.A., ed. Kontrpropaganda: teoriya i praktika (Counterpropaganda: Theory and Practice). Moscow: Voyennoye izdatel'stvo, 1988. 240 p. (FRD reference collection)

The forms and methods of contrapropaganda in refuting imperialist propaganda campaigns, ideological diversion and psywar actions, aimed at the Soviet soldier. Arguments based on interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. Functions of Soviet organizations, imperialist approaches to be refuted, most effective approaches to be used.

Whelan, Joseph G., and Dixon, Michael J. The Soviet Union in the Third World--Threat to World Peace? New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1986. 486 p., ill. D888.S65W48 1986.

The role and importance of the Third World, with historical background, to the United States-Soviet policy relationship. Soviet aims and devices used--military, cultural, and political--by regions. Covers all "third-world" nations, giving the positive and negative results from efforts made in each area and for each type of approach. Very complete bibliography, divided by subtopic and region.

Wilson, Eleanor M. Psychological Warfare in Low Intensity Conflict (Latin America). Newport, R.I.: Naval War College Department of Operations, 1987.

Use of propaganda to counter Soviet influence in Latin America, specifically that exerted through Castro's propaganda. United States policy and psywar as a tool; studying the Latin American mindset and shaping propaganda accordingly. Recommendations on structure and approach for maximum effect.

E. Theoretical Psyop Studies

American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences. The Art and Science of Psychological Operations. Washington: Department of the Army, 1976. 2 vols., 1173 pp. UB275.A43 1976.

Successful and unsuccessful twentieth-century applications of psychological operations, in a collection of essays. Military and civilian measures and factors of success. Some very deep theoretical discussion of topics such as human communications; modern, postwar case studies. Much information on the use of the media, both in theory and in case studies. Bibliography.

Cimbala, Stephen, ed. Challenges to Deterrence. New York: Praeger, 1987. 305 p. U162.6.C47 1987.

Part I examines the psychological factors in the incentives for Western forces to fight under the nuclear umbrella, and the role of low-level peacekeeping operations, as a new phase of military procedure. A theoretical discussion of all the psychological factors in the makeup of the modern fighting man, given the uncertain status of future conflicts. Possible scenarios for unilateral exploitation of situations.

Jervis, Robert, Richard Ned Lebow, and Janice Gross Stein. Psychology and Deterrence. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1985. 270 p. U162.6.J47 1985.

From papers of the 1982 meeting of the International Political Psychology Association. Deterrence theory applied to the origination of world conflicts: World War I, the Falklands, the Middle East, using concrete situations. Develops an inductive, nontheoretical approach, showing how one side's deterrence stance affects the psychology of the other. An overall evaluation of the psychological role of deterrence in the present world.

Leites, Nathan. Psychopolitical Analysis--Selected Writings of Nathan Leites. New York: Halstead Press, 1977. 384 p. DA74.5.L44.

Analyzes the psychology of international political behavior, including propaganda uses. Twentieth-century trends, including Stalin, the Vietnam psychological operations campaigns, the Bolsheviks, China, and violence as a political strategy. Analyzes why South Vietnam failed and Viet Cong succeeded in popular appeal. Scientific methodology and descriptions used throughout.

Lektsionnaya propaganda--problemy effektivnosti i kachestva (Propaganda for Readers--Problems of Effectiveness and Quality). Moscow: Znaniye, 1978. 191 p. DK278.L44.

Instructions on improving Soviet written propaganda in the areas of politics, ideology, labor efficiency and "morality." How to organize, evaluate and prepare audiences and deliver the message. Advice on choice of form and medium and audience research methods.

The New Image Makers. McLean, Virginia: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers, l988.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Sarkesian, Sam, ed. Non-Nuclear Conflicts in the Nuclear Age. New York: Praeger, 1980. 404 p. UA23.N68.

How the United States deals with, and could deal with, non-European conflicts and policy objectives. The United States "psychological retreat from power," and the need to use [redacted]

Shelyag, V.V., A.D. Glotochkin, and K.K. Platonov, eds. Voyennaya psikhologiya (Military Psychology). Washington: GPO, l976. 408 p. ill. U22.3.V6213.

A textbook for higher military institutes of the Soviet Army and Navy. Scientific psychological analysis of combat conditions. Its background as a field of study, mental processes and states in the military, the psychological makeup of the Soviet serviceman and military groups. Of special interest is material on the psychological processes involved in agitation and propaganda.

Stone, William F. and Paul E. Schaffner. The Psychology of Politics. 2d. ed. New York: Springer Verlag, 1988. 331 p., ill. JA74.5.S8 1988.

See especially chapter 4, "Psychology and Ideology," on the role of creeds and beliefs on formation of political behavior. Based on the United States, but provides a complete description of the elements forming individual and social ideology. Also, chapter 10, "Nuclear War," describing the psychological role and international stakes of nuclear arms. Also examines nuclear game theory and strategy, and public beliefs and ideology on

Volkogonov, D.A. The Psychological War. Moscow: Progress, 1986.
240 p. UB275.V6413 1986.

A complete description of Soviet doctrine in conducting nonmilitary campaigns of psychological influence in the

the media. A good example of historical revisionism to prove a propaganda point.

Barnett, Frank R., B. Hugh Tovar, and Richard H. Shultz, eds. Special Operations in United States Strategy. Washington: National Defense University Press, 1984. 326 p. U262.S63 1984.

Covers various aspects of United States special operations in the 1980's, including cultural and moral restraints, military and intelligence aspects. The role of psyops in United States strategy. The Soviet approach to special operations. Strategy in low-intensity operations.

Bolshakov, Vladimir Viktorovich. Agressiya protiv razuma (Aggression against Reason) Moscow: Molodaya gvardiya, 254 p. E876.B648 1984.

Subtitle: "Chronicle of Transgressions." How the ruling classes of capitalist nations conduct ideological manipulation of their youth and of the youth in socialist nations. Follows the development of capitalist antisocialist strategy after World War II. Special emphasis on the role of Israel and Zionist agents, the CIA's secret operations, other American agencies, and South Africa, all part of the propaganda and psychological campaign against the communist world. A good sample of Soviet anti-Western print propaganda, and the issues and targets it uses.

Chamorro, Edgar. Packaging the Contras: A Case of CIA Disinformation. New York: Institute for Media Analysis, 1987. 78 p.

A first-hand account of the early years of the Nicaraguan contra rebels, showing how the CIA developed the contra image, packaged and marketed it; illustrates the use of disinformation in covert and overt American foreign policy.

Cimbala, Stephen, ed. Challenges to Deterrence. New York: Praeger, 1987. 305 p. U162.6.C47 1987.

Part I examines the psychological factors in the incentives for Western forces to fight under the nuclear umbrella, and the role of low-level peacekeeping operations, as a new phase of military procedure. A theoretical discussion of all the psychological factors in the makeup of the modern fighting man, given the uncertain status of future conflicts. Possible scenarios for unilateral exploitation of situations.

Crozier, Brian, Drew Middleton, and Jeremy Murray-Brown. The War Called Peace. New York: Universe Books, 1985. 307 p. D843.C742 1985.

Self-described as "A history of the cold war," describing Soviet

Flynn, Gregory, and Hans Rattinger, eds. The Public and Atlantic Defense. London: Rowham and Allanheld, 1985. 398 p., ill. UA646.3.P78 1985.

Articles by American and European scholars on American and

to step up psychological operations from present halfhearted

Hitchcock, David I. U.S. Public Diplomacy. Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1988.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Hosmer, Stephen T. Constraints on United States Strategy in Third World Conflicts. New York: Crane Russak, 1987. 177 p. UA23.H566 1987.

Divided into: Part I, Present Limitations, and Part II, Implications for the Future. Topics include: attitudes in Third-World countries and how the United States must heed them for successful relations; uses of and defenses against covert aggression; development of United States public opinion towards conflict, post-Vietnam; constraints of avoiding conflict with Soviet Union; and suggestions for aiding other countries in countering covert and overt aggression, using available resources best in a world of limited military options. No full case studies, many cases cited as examples.

Kupperman, Robert H., et al. Low Intensity Conflict. 2 vols. Washington, D.C., 1983.

Defines low-intensity conflict and recommends new Army roles and expansion of readiness for such contingencies. Recommends new training, doctrine, organization, tactics and equipment for possible low-intensity scenarios. Barriers to such a program, and public education in the need for its implementation. Vol. II contains a curriculum outline and proposed organization of forces for the program. Critical aspects are discussed in detail in this volume, including psychological operations to be used, use of terrorism and

Paddock, Alfred H. United States Army Special Warfare: Its Origins. Washington: National Defense University Press, 1982. 221 p. UA34.S64 P33 1982.

An historical chronicle of origins of American special warfare, including psychological and unconventional types. Goals, methods, structure and evaluation of World-War-II-era and prewar operations. The early Soviet threat and reactions to it, early efforts to preserve national security from communist threats. Explains measures taken in Korean-War era, leading to establishment at Ft. Bragg of the Psychological War Center in 1952.

Pincher, Chapman. The Secret Offensive. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985. 314 p., ill. UB251.S65P55 1985.

The Soviet view of disinformation and psychological operations, and how it differs from the American. Detailed description of cases of media use of these operations to generate fear. Includes material on nuclear weapons in Europe and SDI as factors in the psychological balance. Propaganda offensives, forgeries, and setups as legitimate elements of Soviet foreign policy.

Rose, Clive. Campaigns against Western Defense--NATO's Adversaries and Critics. New York: St. Martin's, 1985. 318 p. UA646.3.R6 1985.

Note especially part II, "Adversaries: International Front Organizations and Soviet Peace Campaigns." Postwar lessons and mistakes in handling the Soviet Union's propaganda. With new elements in the world situation, the role of nuclear weapons and a misunderstood drive for peace as used by Soviet propaganda organizations, to achieve national goals without war. Bibliographical notes and detailed listing of peace and front organizations and their members, considered tools of the Soviet program.

Sarkesian, Sam, ed. Non-Nuclear Conflicts in the Nuclear Age. New York: Praeger, 1980. 404 p. UA23.N68.

How the United States deals with, and could deal with, non-European conflicts and policy objectives. The United States "psychological retreat from power," and the need to use varied responses, including nonmilitary and quasimilitary measures. A long historical and theoretical background of the problem. Note especially chapter 4," Nonmilitary Instruments of Defense Policy," which describes measures available and their positive and negative aspects. Extensive footnotes.

Sulc, Lawrence B. Active Measures, Quiet War and Two Socialist Revolutions. Washington: Nathan Hale Institute, 1985. 46 p.

First section is of interest, providing an overview of the current status of the Soviets, in general and in detail, and a set of recommendations for effective Western response to the various devices being used. Examines Western and Soviet views of psyops, and the philosophical background of the latter. Organization and methodology of Soviet active measures--exploitation of target weaknesses. Bibliographical footnotes.

Talbott, Strobe. Endgame--The Inside Story of SALT II. New York: Harper and Row, 1979. 319 p. JX1974.75.T34 1979.

Central comparison of SALT negotiations to a bargaining game. Historical background, then a chronological description of events leading up to the 1979 signing date. How position changes on one side affected psychology and positioning of the other, on the background of international situations and perceived goals. Detailed analysis of the constant adjustment process as those changes occurred.

Thayer, Thomas C. War without Fronts--The American Experience in Viet Nam. Boulder, Col: Westview Press, 1985. 276 p., ill. DS557.7.T453 1985.

Based on previously classified information, gathered from

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Die Vierte Front (The Fourth Front). Berlin: Militarverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1977. 132 p., ill. UB275.V53.

Psychological operations seen as a weapon of imperialism in the contemporary war of ideology, and the psychological basis of anticommunism. Emphasis on application in West German-East German conflict, both military and civilian, on the background of overall European-Soviet politics. Discussion of methods, especially use of the mass media. Prescriptions for combatting

Brind, Harry. "Soviet Policy in the Horn of Africa." International Affairs (London), Winter 1983-1984, pp. 75-95.

Analyzes current Soviet objectives in maintaining influence in the region, assessing its influence and citing obstacles to Soviet objectives.

"Central America and the United States Foreign Policy." Washington Quarterly, Fall 1984, pp. 4-58.

Evaluation of United States relations with Central America, seen from several sides in a collection of articles. Current policy, future potential, analogies to Viet Nam, countering Soviet influence. Cultural factors at work in these relations.

Chang, Chih-i. "In the Bosom of the Enemy (I)." Issues & Studies, July 1986, pp. 160-178.

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German, Robert K. "Nuclear-Free Zones: Norwegian Interest, Soviet Encouragement." Orbis, Summer 1982, pp. 451-476.

Examines the nordic nuclear-free zone proposal in light of Soviet-Norwegian relations and the Norwegian debate on nuclear weapons; Soviet public relations encouraging Norwegian acceptance of the proposal.

Gonzalez, Edward. "The Cuban and Soviet Challenge in the Caribbean Basin." Orbis, Spring 1985, pp. 73-94.

An assessment of the power of the Soviet Union and Cuba (as a client of the Soviets) to influence political opinion and policy in the region and advance their long-term goals.

Harris, Lillian Craig. "China's Third World Courtship." Washington Quarterly, Summer 1982, pp. 128-137.

Identifies the increased attention paid by China to the Third World, as part of its strategy of balancing the influence of the Soviet Union. Problems and methodology of this effort.

Kissinger, Henry A. "Nuclear Weapons and the Peace Movement." Washington Quarterly, Summer 1982, pp. 31-39.

The clamor for peace in the West seen as creating a psychological imbalance, because no comparable drive exists on the Soviet side. The danger of unilateral disarmament and great insecurity in the countries bordering the Soviet Union, because of the strength of western public opinion.

Kuster, Thomas J., Jr. "Dealing with the Insurgency Specter."

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Mahrad, Ahmad. "Zur Rolle des iranischen 'Ministeriums fur islamische Aufklarung' (The Role of the Iranian 'Ministry of Islamic Enlightenment)." Orient, March 1984, pp. 65-82.

Finds that the Khomeini regime spends a great deal on domestic and international propaganda aimed against the West and the Persian Gulf states, while waging a lesser campaign against the Soviet Union despite the invasion of Afghanistan. Discusses how Khomeini tries to coopt academic and cultural elites to endorse his policies.

McEwan, Michael T. "Psychological Operations against Terrorism: The Unused Weapon." Military Review, January 1986, pp. 59-67.

A proposal for nonviolent measures against terrorist groups, using psychological warfare against the terrorist and to influence the public.

Meshcheryakov, V. "Strategicheskaya dezinformatsiya v dostizhenii vnezapnosti po opytu vtoroy mirovoy voyny" (Strategic Disinformation in Achieving Surprise, Based on the Experience of the Second World War). Voyenno-istoricheskiy zhurnal, February 1985, pp. 74-80.

German, United States and British use of strategic surprise in World War II operations; brief accounts of three examples, with documentation. How the United States and NATO now apply strategic disinformation in planning surprise attacks on the Soviet Union.

Miranda, Joseph. "Political Warfare: Can the West Survive?" Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies, Spring 1985, pp. 3-24.

Political warfare as a "decisive element in modern conflict." Definition and discussion of the field, with proposals for the West to remain competitive and learn from past mistakes.

Mojdehi, J.M.M. "America and the Third World: Return to the Past." Survival, March-April 1982, pp. 78-86.

Two contrary approaches of American policy toward the Third World: one as a battlefield between United States and Soviet interests, the other as a localized source of conflict. A warning against the Reagan Administration's emphasis on the first concept.

Montgomery, Robin Navarro. "Psychological Warfare and the Latin American Crisis." Air University Review, July-August 1982, pp. 48-57.

Examines vulnerability of the US to Cuban psychological warfare, and calls for analytical attention to the link between the legitimacy of Castroism and Latin American intellectual

Pattie, Geoffrey E. "Public Opinion and Alliance Security." Strategic Review, Spring 1982, pp. 71-79.

Soviet propaganda as a force behind western peace movements that weaken the Atlantic Alliance. How the West has failed to meet this campaign with effective counterarguments.

Payne, Douglas W. "The 'Mantos' of Sandinista Deception." Strategic Review, Spring 1985, pp. 9-20.

How a small group of Marxists have used deception to take over the popular revolution in Nicaragua, beginning in 1961 and continuing to the present. Describes tactics and results of this campaign.

Ramet, Pedro, and Fernando Lopez-Alves. "Moscow and the Revolutionary Left in Latin America." Orbis, Summer 1984, pp. 341-363.

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Roshchupkin, V. "Ideologicheskaya agressiya protiv Afganistana" (Ideological Aggression against Afghanistan). Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye, July 1987, pp. 7-10.

American imperialism and the CIA as originators of the propaganda campaign against "democratic Afghanistan," beginning in 1979. Organization and diverse agents of the campaign. Crimes of the rebels, benefits of Soviet presence, prospects for democracy and peace.

Rudolph, Jorg-Meinhard. "China's Media: Fitting News to Print." Problems of Communism, July-August 1984, pp. 58-67.

Describes official Chinese policy on news reporting, to propagate state policy. How the Chinese media retain credibility by issuing objective reports in a closely-controlled system of internal publications.

Schmidt, Peter. "Public Opinion and Security Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany." Orbis, Winter 1985, pp. 719-742.

The public view in West Germany of the Soviet military threat, the alliance with the United States, and overall deterrence strategy. Factors influencing current public opinion.

Sergeyev, A. "Sistema 'Psikhologicheskoy gotovnosti' Shvetsii" (The System of 'Psychological Readiness' in Sweden). Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye, April 1987, pp. 15-16.

Describes the doctrine and organization of psychological mobilization of the Swedish civilian population for possible war, as an important part of national defense. The State Information Center as source of information dispersal to the public and abroad, with propaganda and media-control functions.

Taubman, Philip. "Afghan Siege Over, Troops Still Duck." New York Times, January 20, 1988, A, p. 3.

A closeup look at efforts by the Afghan government to reconcile the population to its control. Victory propaganda compared with on-the-scene situation where insurgents continue their campaign.

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Active Measures Working Group. "Soviet Influence Activities: A Report on Active Measures and Propaganda, 1986-1987." United States Department of State Publication, 9627, 1987, pp. 1-89. Includes chapters on 1986 changes in Soviet active measures apparatus, Soviet use of religious groups and the Soviet Peace Committee, forgery activity, disinformation on AIDS and CBW, and active measures in Afghanistan, Africa, Latin America and the United States.

Alexiev, Alex R. "The Soviet Campaign against INF: Strategy, Tactics, and Means." Orbis, Summer 1985, pp. 319-350.

The anti-INF campaign as an example of a concerted effort to manipulate domestic trends in western countries. A detailed analysis of tactics and devices, intended to provide western policymakers the means to counter such strategy.

Branigan, William. "Psychological Warfare in Panama." Washington Post, May 3, 1988, p. A24.

How Manuel Noriega uses psychological warfare, with possible Cuban aid, to maintain political dominance in Panama. How Cuban agents are used to stir anti-United States sentiment among Panamanians, in "dignity brigades." Examines media, sloganeering, and news manipulation.

Dickson, Keith D. "The Basmachi and the Mujahidin: Soviet Responses to Insurgency Movements." Military Review, February 1985, pp. 29-44.

Compares Soviet counterinsurgency campaign in Afghanistan to the campaign in Soviet Central Asia in the 1920s, noting many similarities as well as differences that have militated against Soviet success. Notes that Soviet ideology is uninspiring to Afghan population.

"Disinformation." Current News Special Edition, December 9, 1986, pp. 1-43.

A selection of 1986 articles from the American press on recent instances of Soviet and United States disinformation, including United States devices against Ghadaffi, seen from several sides. General assessments of contemporary disinformation and the role of the media.

Filiberti, Edward J. "The Roots of United States Counterinsurgency Doctrine." Military Review, January 1988, pp. 50-61.

Historical background of the doctrine, beginning in the campaign against Aguinaldo in the Philippines, the first anti-guerrilla experience of the United States A detailed case study of United States policies and errors in that era, and how insurgents were isolated and neutralized--a precursor of present counterinsurgency policy.

Hart, Douglas M. "Low-Intensity Conflict in Afghanistan: The Soviet View." Survival, March-April 1982, pp. 61-67.

How Soviet counterinsurgency tactics evolved into an operational concept and new unit configuration, to minimize the effect of guerrilla activity, in response to the LIC environment in Afghanistan.

Herzog, Richard J. "Tactics in Military Propaganda Documents: A Content Analysis of Illustrations." Defense Analysis, March 1986, pp. 35-46.

Examines the tactics of propagandists in the United States, USSR, and NATO. Concludes that Soviet documents are designed to persuade rather than to inform, and Soviet propaganda has failed to halt Pershing II deployments, but US and NATO propaganda have not convinced public opinion to pursue the arms buildup responsibly.

Langenberg, William H. "The Big Berthas: How Successful?" Military Review, November 1982, pp. 23-32.

Examines use of long-distance guns in World War I to destroy French morale by shelling Paris.

"Low-Intensity Conflict (LIC)." Military Review, September 1988, pp. 2-71.

A collection of articles, evaluating current United States LIC capability, the dangers of using LIC, the role of civil affairs, and specific examples in Latin America, the Second Seminole War and the Russian intervention of 1918-1920.

Mastny, Vojtech. "The Soviet Union and the Falklands War." Naval War College Review, May-June 1983, pp. 46-55.

Soviet attempts to portray the Falklands Islands War as a conflict between a Third World country striving to recover lost territory and an ex-colonial power clinging to a piece of empire. Describes how Soviets tried to maximize propaganda value of the conflict against the United States and Britain.

Meshcheryakov, V. "Strategicheskaya dezinformatsiya v dostizhenii vnezapnosti po opytu vtoroy mirovoy voyny" (Strategic Disinformation in Achieving Surprise, Based on the Experience of the Second World War). Voyenno-istoricheskiy zhurnal, February 1985, pp. 74-80.

German, United States and British use of strategic surprise in World War II operations; brief accounts of three examples, with documentation. How the United States and NATO now apply strategic disinformation in planning surprise attacks on the Soviet Union.

Montgomery, Robin Navarro. "Psychological Warfare and the Latin American Crisis." Air University Review, July-August 1982, pp. 48-57.

Examines vulnerability of the US to Cuban psychological warfare, and calls for analytical attention to the link between the legitimacy of Castroism and Latin American intellectual support for aspects of Castroism. Also calls for the US to engage in a psychological counteroffensive in Latin America, reinvigorating the concept of democracy.

Oberg, James E. "The Sky's the Limit on Disinformation." Air Force Magazine, March 1986, pp. 52-56.

Qualities of western media and public perception that make Soviet false documents effective, even when done clumsily.

Recent examples of western stories benefiting Soviet goals by spreading disinformation, especially in space-age technology, tracing the origin of the stories.

Payne, Douglas W. "The 'Mantos' of Sandinista Deception." Strategic Review, Spring 1985, pp. 9-20.

How a small group of Marxists have used deception to take over the popular revolution in Nicaragua, beginning in 1961 and continuing to the present. Describes tactics and results of this campaign.

Porter, Bruce. "The Soviet Peace Offensive: An Analysis of Tactics." Radio Liberty Research, May 3, 1982, pp. 1-4.

Goals and mechanisms of the Soviet peace campaign in Europe. Lists tactics, with examples of each, between 1979 and 1982. Soviet behavior in response to various conditions and attitudes toward peace movements in the East Bloc.

Rees, John. "On Active Measures: KGB Defector Stanislav Levchenko Testifies." The Review of the News, December 29, 1982, 31-33.

General discussion of Soviet active measures in the United States, with Levchenko's testimony as main source on KGB structure, policymaking apparatus. FBI failures, Soviet use of peace and nuclear freeze movements, and other international front organizations. Active measures in support of Salvadoran guerrillas, especially forgeries.

Remington, Thomas. "Policy Innovation and Soviet Media Campaigns." Journal of Politics, February 1983, pp. 220-227.

How Soviet media campaigns are used to publicize state policy initiatives. Compares two campaigns of 1979, on ideology and economic reform, as they were treated in five Soviet periodicals. Variations in treatment among the five as evidence of differences among party leaders.

Sanders, Sol W. "Central America and Vietnam: The True Parallels." Strategic Review, Spring 1987, pp. 19-26.

A listing of the failures of United States policy versus local populations in Vietnam and Central America, including reactive policy to local developments, refusal to recognize long-term

Sharkey, Jacqueline. "Back in Control." Common Cause Magazine, September-October 1986, pp. 28-40.

The allegation of a secret CIA media campaign to influence American public opinion in favor of the Nicaraguan contras. Based on interviews with former officials and contras, the article also discusses the effectiveness of Congressional oversight of CIA activities.

United States Congress. House. Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. "Soviet Active Measures." Hearings, 97th Congress, 2d Session, July 1982.

Documents, testimony and reports on recent Soviet active measures. CIA studies on Soviet connections with peace movements, media manipulation, forgery of international correspondence, and propaganda. Charts of Soviet active measures organizations.

Valenta, Jiri. "Soviet Use of Surprise and Deception." Survival, March-April 1982, pp. 50-61.

Describes the evolution of Soviet doctrine and practice in deception since World War II, with the invasions of

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Weisman, John. "Why American TV Is So Vulnerable to Foreign Propaganda." TV Guide, June 12, 1982, pp. 4-6.

American television networks and viewers as prime targets for Soviet disinformation and propaganda. Examines news coverage of [redacted] Libyan assassination team, as an example of

States claims of differences between binary and conventional chemical weapons. Historical listing of United States chemical weapons activity since World War II, ending in condemnation of current policy.

Alexiev, Alex R. "The Soviet Campaign against INF: Strategy, Tactics, and Means." Orbis, Summer 1985, pp. 319-350.

The anti-INF campaign as an example of a concerted effort to manipulate domestic trends in western countries. A detailed analysis of tactics and devices, intended to provide western policymakers the means to counter such strategy.

Beaumont, Roger. "Soviet Psychological Warfare and Propaganda." Signal, November 1987, pp. 75-84.

A good overview of the Soviet conception of propaganda, examining its semantics, moralistic themes, and goals. Discusses the Pavlovian psychological theory of Soviet propaganda, and Soviet use of reflexive and adaptive control.

Benn, David Wedgwood. "Soviet Propaganda: The Theory and the Practice." World Today, June 1985, pp. 112-115.

Analysis of present Soviet propaganda practices and motivations, and evaluation of their success rate for internal propaganda campaigns. Emphasis on problems and lack of response in target audiences, and the poor grasp of psychology shown by failures to manipulate public opinion. Assessment of factors most important in such manipulation in the Soviet Union.

Billington, James H. "From Russia with NBC." Washington Journalism Review, November 1984, pp. 20-22.

Explores the reasons for unrealistic coverage of the Soviet Union by American television: the secrecy of the Soviet system, but also Soviet manipulation of the American media.

Brind, Harry. "Soviet Policy in the Horn of Africa." International Affairs (London), Winter 1983-1984, pp. 75-95.

Analyzes current Soviet objectives in maintaining influence in the region, assessing its influence and citing obstacles to Soviet objectives.

Cordesman, Anthony M. "Whence the Threat to Peace: The Soviet

answer to Western publications (such as Soviet Military Power) on the subject. Sees the publication as a propaganda effort that shows the Soviet mindset on NATO and seeks to undermine western stability.

Dickson, Keith D. "The Basmachi and the Mujahidin: Soviet Responses to Insurgency Movements." Military Review, February 1985, pp. 29-44.

Compares Soviet counterinsurgency campaign in Afghanistan to the campaign in Soviet Central Asia in the 1920s, noting many

influence--included under the broad category of "Soviet active measures."

Frank, Jerome D. "Psychological Causes of the Nuclear Arms Race." Chemtech, August 1982, pp. 466-469.

A psychiatrist analyzes the mental processes that contribute to the paradoxical and contradictory approach of the United States and Soviet Union to the threat of nuclear arms. Common elements of human psychology that contribute, beyond immediate political considerations. Outlines four main elements in shaping behavior, with recommendations for overcoming the influence of anthropological and psychological human fallibility.

German, Robert K. "Nuclear-Free Zones: Norwegian Interest, Soviet Encouragement." Orbis, Summer 1982, pp. 451-476.

Examines the nordic nuclear-free zone proposal in light of Soviet-Norwegian relations and the Norwegian debate on nuclear weapons; Soviet public relations encouraging Norwegian acceptance of the proposal.

Gerry, Alex. "Soviet Propaganda Must Be Countered." Officer, September 1987, pp. 12-16.

Discusses successes of Soviet propaganda in altering Western European attitudes toward the United States and in fostering disunity within NATO. Calls for NATO alliance to combat Soviet psychological warfare.

Gonzalez, Edward. "The Cuban and Soviet Challenge in the Caribbean Basin." Orbis, Spring 1985, pp. 73-94.

An assessment of the power of the Soviet Union and Cuba (as a client of the Soviets) to influence political opinion and policy in the region and advance their long-term goals.

Hart, Douglas M. "Low-Intensity Conflict in Afghanistan: The Soviet View." Survival, March-April 1982, pp. 61-67.

How Soviet counterinsurgency tactics evolved into an operational concept and new unit configuration, to minimize the effect of guerrilla activity, in response to the LIC environment in Afghanistan.

Heritage Foundation. "Moscow's Hot War of Words." The Heritage Foundation Backgrounder, 338, 1984, 1-8.

Chronicle, by topic, of Soviet "verbal outrage and violations of the niceties of diplomatic discourse," documented listings of quotes from Soviet official sources. Conclusion is that United

States harsh rhetoric is a necessary response in this "war."

"How Soviet 'Active Measures' Influence United States Peace Movement." Human Events, January 8, 1983, pp. S1-S8.

A full text of the FBI report on Soviet infiltration of major peace organizations in the United States and abroad. Structural analysis of Soviet active measures mechanisms, objectives, strategy, with diagrams. Examples of each type of measure, with assessments of success--an exhaustive, complete description, heavily documented.

Huyn, Hans Graf. "Webs of Soviet Disinformation." Strategic Review, Fall 1984, pp. 51-58.

A general discussion of disinformation as a principle weapon of Soviet international policy, including a wide variety of activities to shape popular perception and influence western policies.

Isaac, Rael Jean and Erich Isaac. "The Counterfeit Peacemakers: Atomic Freeze." American Spectator, June 1982, pp. 8-12, 14-17.

The origins and possible goals of the nuclear freeze movement--information necessary to balance public opinion on the issue of nuclear weapons, taking into consideration the connection of Soviet propaganda with the freeze movement.

Kahler, Hans. "Soviet Psychological Warfare." International Defense Review, February 1986, pp. 157-160.

General and brief overview of institutions involved in and nature of Soviet active measures. Discusses front organizations set up and supported by Soviets for pursuing in psychological warfare.

Kampf, Herbert A. "The Challenge of Marxist-Leninist Propaganda."

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Khmara, Nikolai. "Hawks of Psychological Warfare." Soviet Military Review, July 1985, pp. 51-51.

Describes attempts of the imperialist powers to "poison the world psychological atmosphere." Institutions such as NATO and USIA as chief agents, meddling in internal affairs of other countries; techniques used. High priority of psyops in United States military doctrine.

Kim, G. "Sovetskiy Soyuz i natsional'no-osvoboditel'noye dvizheniye" (The USSR and the National Liberation Movement). Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya, 9, 1982, pp. 19-33. Examines the development and prospects of national liberation in the Orient. Stresses that the USSR has increased ties with newly independent states in three areas: economic, political, diplomatic, and the "rendering of certain aid...in repulsing aggression."

Kissinger, Henry A. "Nuclear Weapons and the Peace Movement." Washington Quarterly, Summer 1982, pp. 31-39.

The clamor for peace in the West seen as creating a psychological imbalance, because no comparable drive exists on the Soviet side. The danger of unilateral disarmament and great insecurity in the countries bordering the Soviet Union, because of the strength of western public opinion.

Knepper, William E. "Soviet Active Measures." Department of State Bulletin, August 1984, pp. 53-57.

The background and Soviet concept of active measures, describing all varieties, including disinformation, media manipulation in other countries, use of front groups, and other techniques to advance the Soviet agenda.

Lacoste, Pierre. "Information, desinformation et defense (Information, Disinformation, and Defense)." Politique internationale, 1987, pp. 283-292.

Provides an overview of the nature of propaganda and discusses the recent emergence of terrorism and the movement for the prevention of nuclear warfare as means of manipulation of public opinion.

Lewarne, Stephen. "The Soviet Press and Afghanistan." International Perspectives, July-August 1985, pp. 17-20.

How the Soviet press prepared its public for the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan. Treatment of the West (normal propaganda

lines) and of religious and nationality questions (new approaches, arising from the Iranian revolution).

Lewy, Guenter. "Does America Need a Verfassungsschutzbericht?" Orbis, fall 1987, pp. 275-295.

The complete freedom of speech in the United States seen as an easy opportunity for subversive propaganda, as exemplified by the influence of the left in the Vietnam era. Recommends a West German-style office to publicize extremist activities, as a defense of open society.

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General overview of Soviet propaganda and disinformation efforts, briefly giving organizational history and examples of successful and unsuccessful propaganda-disinformation efforts.

Lubkin, Yale Jay. "Soviets Launch All-Out Campaign Against the SDI: Use 'Active Measures.'" Defense Science and Electronics, June 1986, pp. 15-18.

Outlines how disinformation against SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) was spread by Soviet front organizations aiming to manipulate Western opinion. Discusses five themes of active measures program against SDI.

Martin, L. John. "Disinformation: An Instrumentality in the Propaganda Arsenal." Political Communication and Persuasion, 1, 1982, pp. 47-64.

General overview of Soviet disinformation efforts, discussing pedigree of term and use as an instrument of policy. Argues that no state would engage in disinformation if the actual course of world affairs was operating in its favor.

Mastny, Vojtech. "The Soviet Union and the Falklands War." Naval War College Review, May-June 1983, pp. 46-55.

Soviet attempts to portray the Falklands Islands War as a conflict between a Third World country striving to recover lost territory and an ex-colonial power clinging to a piece of empire. Describes how Soviets tried to maximize propaganda value of the conflict against the United States and Britain.

Meshcheryakov, V. "Strategicheskaya dezinformatsiya v dostizhenii vnezapnosti po opytu vtoroy mirovoy voyny" (Strategic Disinformation in Achieving Surprise, Based on the Experience

of the Second World War). Voyenno-istoricheskiy zhurnal, February 1985, pp. 74-80.

German, United States and British use of strategic surprise in World War II operations; brief accounts of three examples, with documentation. How the United States and NATO now apply strategic disinformation in planning surprise attacks on the Soviet Union.

Miranda, Joseph. "Political Warfare: Can the West Survive?" Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies, Spring 1985, pp. 3-24.

Political warfare as a "decisive element in modern conflict." Definition and discussion of the field, with proposals for the West to remain competitive and learn from past mistakes.

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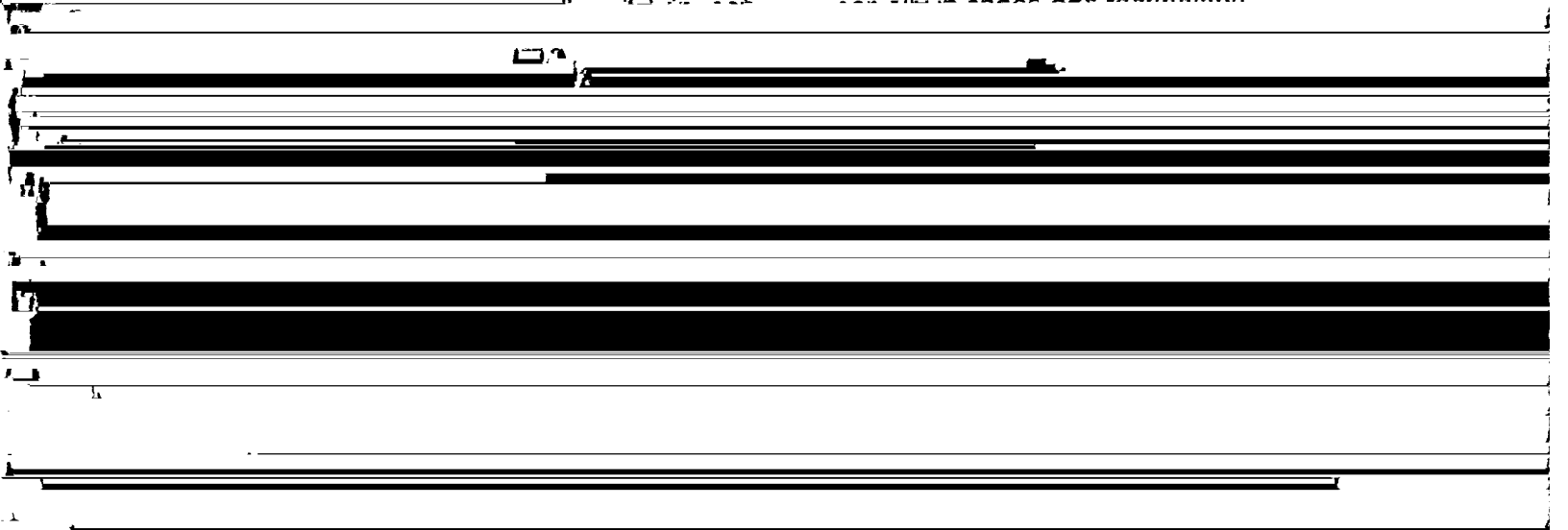
How West Germany brainwashes its youth with anticommunist propaganda from an early age, using the "bourgeois propaganda apparatus." Recent increase in numbers of propaganda officers in the armed forces, indoctrination practices to form militaristic mindset and kindle revanchist feelings against East Germany. The role of the United States in this program.

Nolutshungu, Sam C. "African Interests and Soviet Power: The Local Context of Soviet Policy." Soviet Studies, July 1982, pp. 397-417.

How a new Soviet image in Africa meets local African interests and concerns. The new complexities of Soviet military force in Africa on behalf of allies, adding factors that make such ventures less predictable than before.

Oberg, James E. "The Sky's the Limit on Disinformation." Air Force Magazine, March 1986, pp. 52-56.

Qualities of western media and public perception that make Soviet false documents effective, even when done clumsily. Recent examples of western stories benefiting Soviet goals by



Pattie, Geoffrey E. "Public Opinion and Alliance Security." Strategic Review, Spring 1982, pp. 71-79.

Soviet propaganda as a force behind western peace movements that weaken the Atlantic Alliance. How the West has failed to meet this campaign with effective counterarguments.

Pipes, Richard. "Survival is Not Enough: How Vulnerable is the

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In an exerpt from his book of the same title, Pipes discusses the Soviet "grand strategy" for total world victory for socialism. The factors in western society that make it vulnerable to Soviet devices in this strategy, which seeks to divide the West.

Porter, Bruce. "The Soviet Peace Offensive: An Analysis of Tactics." Radio Liberty Research, May 3, 1982, pp. 1-4.

Goals and mechanisms of the Soviet peace campaign in Europe. Lists tactics, with examples of each, between 1979 and 1982. Soviet behavior in response to various conditions and attitudes toward peace movements in the East Bloc.

Possony, Stefan T. "Kremlin Ideology and Psychological Warfare." Defense and Foreign Affairs, June 1983, pp. 24-26.

Discusses Soviet personnel responsible for psychological operations policy, such as Gromyko, Andropov, Ponomarev, and

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Rees, John. "On Active Measures: KGB Defector Stanislav Levchenko Testifies." The Review of the News, December 29, 1982, 31-33.

General discussion of Soviet active measures in the United States, with Levchenko's testimony as main source on KGB structure, policymaking apparatus. FBI failures, Soviet use of peace and nuclear freeze movements, and other international front organizations. Active measures in support of Salvadoran guerrillas, especially forgeries.

Remington, Thomas. "Policy Innovation and Soviet Media Campaigns." Journal of Politics, February 1983, pp. 220-227.

How Soviet media campaigns are used to publicize state policy

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the Bundeswehr). Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye, December 1982, pp. 32-34.

Morale and discipline problems in the West German army; low quality in command levels. Chronic alcoholism and drugs and the spread of pacifism. Government programs to indoctrinate, combat these tendencies. Role of neofascist groups in restoring nationalist feeling among populace, with Soviet Union seen as the chief enemy. NATO encouragement.

Schmidt, Peter. "Public Opinion and Security Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany." Orbis, Winter 1985, pp. 719-742.

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Definition of United States psyops, from Soviet point of view, and stepwise analysis of how they are carried out. How target population is evaluated. Operations in theaters of military action, antiguerrilla action in allied countries, behind enemy lines, and indoctrination of prisoners of war.

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Analyzes how Soviet press coverage of the United States became more positive at the end of 1987. The tendency for totally biased reports to harm the credibility of negative reports on life in the West.

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Article decries the current lax state of Western counterpropaganda against Soviet propaganda, noting that while the United States successfully used propaganda in its war of independence, it was lax in such efforts in Vietnam. Asserts that in revolutionary struggle, including the East-West struggle, the psychological aspect is crucial, offering four techniques or

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Article decries the current lax state of Western counterpropaganda against Soviet propaganda, noting that while the United States successfully used propaganda in its war of independence, it was lax in such efforts in Vietnam. Asserts that in revolutionary struggle, including the East-West struggle, the psychological aspect is crucial, offering four techniques or themes to counter Soviet propaganda.

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Includes two case studies on the Berlin situation (1948 and 1961), studying the psychological factors at work on both sides. How the chess game is played on both sides, in theory and practice, calculating risk vs. gain

American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences. The Art and Science of Psychological Operations. Washington: Department of the Army, 1976. 2 vols., 1173 pp. UB275.A43 1976.

Successful and unsuccessful twentieth-century applications of psychological operations, in a collection of essays. Military and civilian measures and factors of success. Some very deep theoretical discussion of topics such as human communications; modern, postwar case studies. Much information on the use of the media, both in theory and in case studies. Bibliography.

American University, Center for Research in Social Systems. An Annotated Bibliography on Internal Defense. Washington: American University, 1968. Z6724.G7A68.

See especially section Five, Psychological Operations, a listing of books, periodicals, and articles, emphasizing the Vietnam era, and other historical examples and theoretical discussion of communist psychological operations methodology (which receives heavy emphasis). Other sections cover antiguerrilla and economic/political warfare. Annotations are concise, single paragraphs.

Armstrong, Richard N. Soviet Operational Deception. Ft. Leavenworth, Kans.: Combat Studies Institute, I989.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Arnold, Anthony.Afghanistan--the Soviet Invasion in Perspective (Revised Edition). Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1985 179 p. DS371.2.A76 1985.

The background of Russian and Soviet relations with Afghanistan. See especially chapters on "The Drive for Political Control" and "Occupational Politics," on Soviet policy for overcoming local resistance and international objections to the invasion. Description and evaluation of measures taken, and use of propaganda and the media. Suggestions on how the United

States should relate to the Afghan resistance movements. Short bibliography.

Artsibasov, Ivan. In Disregard of the Law. Moscow: Progress, 1982. 268 p., ill. DK270.A88 1982.

A collection of case studies, copious documentation and photographs, to prove that the United States is a warmonger and persistent aggressor. Links current and past United States practices around the world with Nazi methodology and atrocities. Imperialist campaigns of racism and genocide, using the media. A good example of historical revisionism to prove a propaganda point.

Barnett, Frank R., B. Hugh Tovar, and Richard H. Shultz, eds. Special Operations in United States Strategy. Washington: National Defense University Press, 1984. 326 p. U262.S63 1984.

Covers various aspects of United States special operations in the 1980's, including cultural and moral restraints, military and intelligence aspects. The role of psyops in United States strategy. The Soviet approach to special operations. Strategy in low-intensity operations.

Barron, John. KGB--The Secret Work of Secret Agents. New York: Readers Digest Press, 1974. 462 p. HV8225.B37.

A detailed narrative of foreign plots and active measures under the KGB. Marxist doctrine as applied abroad and for domestic control. The work of individual agents, and their assignments and functions in the world of espionage and dirty tricks.

Bittman, Ladislav. The Deception Game--Czech Intelligence and Soviet Political Warfare. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972. 246 p. UB251.C95B58 1972.

First-hand accounts of several cases, such as the 1964 Czech disinformation campaign against West Germany (operation Neptune), and several case studies of anti-American

cases. Detailed description of the Soviet theory of disinformation, its perceptions and objectives.

Blasier, Cole, and Carmelo Mesa-Lago, eds. Cuba in the World. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979. 320 p. F1788.2.C82.

Describes Cuban relations with the Third World, the United States, the Soviet Union, and other countries. Topics include Cuban subversion and how it is resisted; refurbishing the Cuban image; the dynamics at work in each relationship; Cuba's role in wars of national liberation in Angola, Puerto Rico, and the Middle East; and how Cuba identifies its national interests and uses nonmilitary methods to pursue them.

Bolshakov, Vladimir Viktorovich. Agressiya protiv razuma (Aggression against Reason) Moscow: Molodaya gvardiya, 254 p. E876.B648 1984.

Subtitle: "Chronicle of Transgressions." How the ruling classes of capitalist nations conduct ideological manipulation of their youth and of the youth in socialist nations. Follows the development of capitalist antisocialist strategy after World War II. Special emphasis on the role of Israel and Zionist agents, the CIA's secret operations, other American agencies, and South Africa, all part of the propaganda and psychological campaign against the communist world. A good sample of Soviet antiWestern print propaganda, and the issues and targets it uses.

Breuer, William B. The Secret War with Germany--Deception, Espionage and Dirty Tricks. Novato, California: Presidio, 1987. 318 p. D810.S7B68 1988.

Cites specific World War II operations, outside the context of larger campaigns. Separate, brief accounts, with some historical background. How plans were formed and executed, much on behind-the-scenes preparations, all culminating in the D-Day invasion.

Brown, Anthony Cave. Bodyguard of Lies--British Use of Deceptive Measures in World War II. New York: Harper and Row, 1975. 947 p., ill. D810.S7C63 1975.

Origins of special measures in 1938-1942, with a detailed account of all events and how war events affected secret operations. The battle between British and German agents, and the effort to influence the German popular mood toward the war and demoralize the military. Political operations in the context of a large-scale military and intelligence effort.

Burgess, L.K. War Since 1945--Seminar and Symposium--the Malayan Emergency, a Study of a Successful Counterinsurgency War. Quantico, Virginia: Marine Corps Command and Staff College, 1983. 170 p.

A research report (not in the Library of Congress holdings), describing the British counterinsurgency campaign's success against Malayan communists. Listing and discussion of the five main factors: mastery of jungle warfare, resettlement programs preventing guerrilla access to recruits and supplies, an effective intelligence operation, effective command and control, and effective public information and psychological warfare.

Cathala, Henri-Pierre. Le temps de la desinformation (The Time of Disinformation) Paris: 1986. 271 p. UB251.S65C38 1986.

How disinformation works--the field of action, favorite targets, favorable conditions, and weak points attacked. Use of agents and false information, with recommendations on how to defend against such tactics. Emphasis on the United States and Western Europe, also treatment of disinformation used in Warsaw Pact countries.

Chamorro, Edgar. Packaging the Contras: A Case of CIA Disinformation. New York: Institute for Media Analysis, 1987. 78 p.

A first-hand account of the early years of the Nicaraguan contra rebels, showing how the CIA developed the contra image, packaged and marketed it; illustrates the use of disinformation in covert and overt American foreign policy.

Cimbala, Stephen, ed. Challenges to Deterrence. New York: Praeger, 1987. 305 p. U162.6.C47 1987.

Part I examines the psychological factors in the incentives for Western forces to fight under the nuclear umbrella, and the role of low-level peacekeeping operations, as a new phase of military procedure. A theoretical discussion of all the psychological factors in the makeup of the modern fighting man, given the uncertain status of future conflicts. Possible scenarios for unilateral exploitation of situations.

Cline, Ray S., James Arnold Miller, and Roger E. Kanet, eds. Asia in Soviet Global Strategy. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987. 193 p. UA770.A85 1987.

The background and development of Soviet interests in Asia, in military, economic, political and cultural areas. Covers Korea, China, Vietnam, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and the Persian Gulf. Creates a broad picture of cultural barriers, problems and

goals of the Slavic-Oriental relationship. Soviet methods in probing for new bases of relationship, especially in the Soviet-Chinese connection. Short, concise outlines on individual topics.

Crozier, Brian, Drew Middleton, and Jeremy Murray-Brown. The War Called Peace. New York: Universe Books, 1985. 307 p. D843.C742 1985.

Self-described as "A history of the cold war," describing Soviet attitudes and devices. Three journalists examine United States responses and the influence upon them of events such as McCarthyism and Viet Nam through 1982. The psychological/political push and pull of the two great powers, and its effect on the rest of the world. The international context for Soviet propaganda and psychological gambits. How United States response has been conditioned.

Cruickshank, Charles. The Fourth Arm--Psychological Warfare 1938-1945. London: Davis-Poynter, 1977. 200 p. D810.P7G7247.

The activities of the British Political Warfare Executive in

sections are scholarly and technical. A good background for understanding terminology and concepts.

Deacon, Richard. The Truth Twisters. London: Macdonald, 1986. 240 p., ill. JF1525.I6D43 1987.

Described as covering "disinformation in all its many forms." Its history as a phenomenon, with specific applications starting with the Soviet Union's adoption of it after World War II as a standard part of foreign policy. A general discussion, not deeply documented, covering domestic as well as international deception campaigns. Includes use of print media, computer technology, manipulation of data banks, and broadcast media. Emphasizes disinformation as a threatening phenomenon in many levels of modern life.

Dmitrov, Ivo. Neprimirimi polyusi (Irreconcilable Poles) Sofia: Narodna mladezh, 1979. 114 p. HX44.D465.

Ideological war, on the background of two opposite systems of government. Western use of psychological operations as a major obstacle to closer relations. Explanation and "correction" on the aims and theories of Western psyops. The history of operations, how they work, materials and methods. The methodology and aims of communist propaganda as a counter to the Western program, to protect the intended target population from false information.

Doggett, Clinton L. The United States Information Agency. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Donaldson, Robert H. The Soviet Union in the Third World: Successes and Failures. Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1981. 485 p. DK274.S651965.

The Soviet Union in Latin America, Cuba, Africa, the Middle East, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, India, Viet Nam, and the Moslem world. Especially good are the summary chapters, analyzing the reasons for success or failure in each area. Alliance with nationalist movements as a tactic. Priority of money and arms in Soviet thinking for these regions. Analyzes how the Soviet choice of sides is made in national conflicts, and how their choices have worked out in various cases. Use of media in disinformation campaigns.

Ellison, Herbert J., ed. Soviet Policy toward Western Europe--Implications for the Atlantic Alliance. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983. 322 p. D1065.S65S69 1983.

Soviet perceptions and goals in Western Europe. Soviet use of diplomatic pressure, especially to lure West Germany away from the West. The basis of the Soviet position and security needs. How it deals with various political factions in the West, such as the French noncommunist left and the Western communist parties. Propaganda on peace, military buildup and nuclear weapons.

Essays on Strategy: Selections from the 1984 Joint Chiefs of Staff Essay Competition. Washington: National Defense University Press, 1985.

Note especially M. Kriesel's "Psychological Operations: A Strategic View."

Falcoff, Mark and Robert Royal, eds. Crisis and Opportunity--Thirty Essays by Statesmen, Scholars, Religious Leaders, and Journalists. Washington: Ethics and Policy Center, 1984. 491 p. F1439.5.C73.

An examination of many sides and areas of United States policy in Latin America, by figures involved there in various ways. The positive and negative sides of United States involvement, and suggested solutions to present problems of United States relations in the region.

Farago, Ladislas, ed. German Psychological Warfare. New York: Arno Press, 1972. 302 p. UB277.G3F37 1972.

A study of Nazism's psychological basis through history, and the use of that base in World War II. Emphasizes national culture and psychological traits, especially the will to make war. Discusses morale factors, tactics and strategy and their effects, and the psychology of civilian, military and combat life. Bibliography.

Flugblatterpropaganda im Zweiten Weltkrieg--Dokumentation und Analyse (Leaflet Propaganda in the Second World War--Documentation and Analysis). Bremen: Die Gesellschaft, 1980. 69 p. D810.P8F58 1980.

The military uses, principles and methods of propaganda leaflets; how leaflets are put together and distributed, how results are analyzed. The war of nerves between German and British propaganda campaigns. Extensive plates illustrating various types of propaganda document and approach. Extensive documentation and notes.

Flynn, Gregory, and Hans Rattinger, eds. The Public and Atlantic Defense. London: Rowham and Allanheld, 1985. 398 p., ill. UA646.3.P78 1985.

Articles by American and European scholars on American and European public opinion on NATO and issues of Atlantic defense. Statistical poll results and interpretation for populations in NATO countries, on communism, Soviet goals and peace campaigns, the nuclear issues, and their country's policy toward the United States Bibliographies.

Godson, Roy. Intelligence Requirements for the 1990s. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1989.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Godson, Roy, ed. Intelligence Requirements for the 1980's: Analysis and Estimates. Washington: National Strategic Information Center, 1980. 223 p. UB251.U5I56 no. 2.

The use of intelligence information in making policy. The history and background of this process. Especially, use of intelligence in foreign deception operations. Strategic deception as state policy, with control of information distribution. Tactics and defenses, how to sift truth from foreign lies. How

building myths such as the Soviet military threat. Techniques used to bend actual facts to suit ideology.

Gordon, Joseph S., ed. Psychological Operations--The Soviet Challenge. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1988. 216 p. DK278.P79 1988.

A collection of articles on the use of information as a military weapon by the Soviet Union. An overview of the organization [redacted] of the Soviet program, with psychological reasons [redacted]

Hahn, Walter F., ed. Central America and the Reagan Doctrine. Lanham, Maryland: Center for Strategic Relations at Boston University, 1987. 318 p. F1439.5.C452 1987.

A collection of essays from Strategic Review on covert operations in Central America in the context of regional and world relationships. Note especially section IV, on issues and measures taken between the United States and Central American nations, in response to Soviet expansionism and active measures. How the Sandinistas and other guerrilla groups have won power; the dynamics of political events with which the United States must deal with the region. Bibliographical notes.

Hansen, Allen C. USIA, Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age. New York: Praeger, 1989.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Haswell, Jock. The Tangled Web--The Art of Tactical and Strategic Deception. Wendover, England: J. Goodchild, 1975. 174 p., ill. U167.5.D37H37 1985.

A broad treatment of deception through the ages, since the Assyrians. Anecdotal, undocumented accounts from history, but with a solid, consistent account of the methods and rationale of deception measures. A short treatment of the basic principles used in each case follows the account of events.

Hazan, Baruch. Soviet Impregnational Propaganda. Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1982. 180 p., ill. DK269.5.H39 1982.

The Soviet view of cultural relations with other countries, and their belief that they can overcome cultural differences by using the new Soviet man as an example. Stepwise discussion of the elements of the propaganda process, including policy making, penetration of the target's resistance, agents, message contents, responses, and the ultimate output of behavior and opinion. Impregnational propaganda as a subtle turning of target minds away from traditional values, as preparation for targeted campaigns. How relations are established in specific aspects of culture.

Heikal, Mohamed. Iran: The Untold Story of America's Adventure and Its Consequences. New York: Pantheon, 198l. 217 p. DS318.H4 1982.

The shock of the Iranian revolution to American policy and policymakers, as a lesson in the need to accomodate cultural differences in order to exert influence. Deep cultural background behind events--the fall of the Shah, American reaction, its strategic position and errors. Good documentation

of the background and diplomatic struggle surrounding the revolution.

Herzstein, Robert Edwin. The War that Hitler Won. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1978. 491 p., ill. D810.P7G338.

Describes "the most famous propaganda campaign in history"--the methods of Joseph Goebbels in arousing German public reaction, particularly against Britain and the Soviet Union. Use of the media, ideology and film. Heavily documented, with bibliography.

Hitchcock, David I. U.S. Public Diplomacy. Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1988.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Hosmer, Stephen T. Constraints on United States Strategy in Third World Conflicts. New York: Crane Russak, 1987. 177 p. UA23.H566 1987.

Divided into: Part I, Present Limitations, and Part II, Implications for the Future. Topics include: attitudes in Third-World countries and how the United States must heed them for successful relations; uses of and defenses against covert aggression; development of United States public opinion towards conflict, post-Vietnam; constraints of avoiding conflict with Soviet Union; and suggestions for aiding other countries in countering covert and overt aggression, using available resources best in a world of limited military options. No full case studies, many cases cited as examples.

Jervis, Robert, Richard Ned Lebow, and Janice Gross Stein. Psychology and Deterrence. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1985. 270 p. U162.6.J47 1985.

From papers of the 1982 meeting of the International Political Psychology Association. Deterrence theory applied to the origination of world conflicts: World War I, the Falklands, the Middle East; using concrete situations. Develops an inductive, nontheoretical approach, showing how one side's deterrence stance affects the psychology of the other. An overall evaluation of the psychological role of deterrence in the present world.

Jonsson, Christer. Soviet Bargaining Behavior--The Nuclear Test Ban Case. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979. 266 p. JX1974.7.J66.

Negotiations of 1958-1963 as a test case, showing Soviet views and methods. Interaction and gamesmanship of United States and Soviets, and internal bargaining within each side. How

United States expectations and images of the Soviets were changed. Does not concentrate on psychological operations, but is a good study of Soviet psychology, organization and approach to high-stakes international bargaining and exploitation of foreign weaknesses, and United States vulnerability to such measures. Extensive bibliography.

Jowett, Garth S. and Victoria O'Donnell. Propaganda and Persuasion. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1986. 286 p. HM263.J69.

Defines and traces the history of propaganda since the Romans, with many specific examples, both military and civilian. Propaganda institutions in the modern world: the media and mass audiences, with examples of how and by whom they are used. A detailed scholarly overview of the phenomenon, including main types such as the big lie, black propaganda, etc. Five case studies, including Mayaguez incident and South African propaganda in the United States Describes methodology of modern propaganda.

Kanet, Roger, ed. The Limits of Soviet Power in the Developing World. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, l988.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Kanet, Roger, ed. The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and the Third World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. 233 p., ill. D888.S65 S647 1987.

Selected papers from the Third World Congress for Slavic and East European Studies, Washington, D.C. See especially "The Soviet Union and the New World Information Order," on Soviet information and media policy and its information flow to Third World countries. Controls exerted by world organizations on distorted Soviet information dispersal, and how the Soviet Union has reacted to those controls. See also "Soviet Propaganda and the Process of National Liberation," on the nature, aims, themes, methods and targets of Soviet propaganda on topics such as the arms race, nuclear war, and superpower positions on national liberation movements.

Kenez, Peter. The Birth of the Propaganda State--Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917-1929. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. 308 p., ill. DK266.3.K43 1985.

An historical, scholarly treatment of the early stages of Soviet propaganda programs and doctrine, beginning in pre-revolutionary years. Explores the concepts of propaganda and its role in the Civil War and New Economic Policy years, and how it became a permanent part of policy. Use of the press, media, government organs, political education drives, and

the comsomol; and the relation of propaganda to the arts, agitation methods, and perceived enemies. Extensive bibliography.

Kirchner, Klaus. Flugblatterpropaganda im zweiten Weltkrieg (Leaflet Propaganda in the Second World War). 7 vols. Erlangen: Verlag D und C, 1972. D810.P7G7556.

Mainly plates of leaflets and newspaper stories dropped and circulated by the British and Americans over and in Germany, with a short text describing the campaign, with detailed statistics on the publication and distribution effort, a bibliography and catalog by year. German countermeasures described.

Kupperman, Robert H., et al. Low Intensity Conflict. 2 vols. Washington, D.C., 1983.

Defines low-intensity conflict and recommends new Army roles and expansion of readiness for such contingencies. Recommends new training, doctrine, organization, tactics and equipment for possible low-intensity scenarios. Barriers to such a program, and public education in the need for its implementation. Vol. II contains a curriculum outline and proposed organization of forces for the program. Critical aspects are discussed in detail in this volume, including psychological operations to be used, use of terrorism and technical requirements.

Laidi, Zaki, ed. The Third World and the Soviet Union. London: Zed Books, 1988. 125 p. D888.S65U7813 1988.

How third-world countries view the Soviet Union, according to their own cultural values. Divided into Black Africa, the Ba'athists of Iraq and Syria, Turkey, the ASEAN nations, Viet Nam, India, and Latin America. Economic, political and cultural factors, with brief histories of the relationships in each case and deep documentation. Why the Soviet Union is of use or seen as a model given various combinations of those factors. Examples of and reasons for Soviet successes and failures in its cultural offensive.

Leiken, Robert S. Soviet Strategy in Latin America. Washington: Praeger, 1982. 124 p. UA602.3.L44 1982.

Describes the wide range of methods used in Soviet strategy in Latin America: cultural organizations, bribery, espionage, media control, disinformation. Cuba as local agent. The reaction to such campaigns by Latin Americans. Traces the evolution of Soviet goals through the last decade. Suggestions for peaceful United States counterprograms.

Leites, Nathan. Psychopolitical Analysis--Selected Writings of Nathan Leites. New York: Halstead Press, 1977. 384 p. DA74.5.L44.

Analyzes the psychology of international political behavior, including propaganda uses. Twentieth-century trends, including Stalin, the Vietnam psychological operations campaigns, the Bolsheviks, China, and violence as a political strategy. Analyzes why South Vietnam failed and Viet Cong succeeded in popular appeal. Scientific methodology and descriptions used throughout.

Lektsionnaya propaganda--problemy effektivnosti i kachestva (Propaganda for Readers--Problems of Effectiveness and Quality). Moscow: Znaniye, 1978. 191 p. DK278.L44.

Instructions on improving Soviet written propaganda in the areas of politics, ideology, labor efficiency and "morality." How to organize, evaluate and prepare audiences and deliver the message. Advice on choice of form and medium and audience research methods.

Lowenthal, Richard. Model or Ally?--The Communist Powers in the Developing Countries. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977. 400 p. HX518.S8L63.

Soviet methods and campaigns to win over Third-World countries. How the precepts of Leninism are molded to fit various situations and achieve the Leninist colonial revolution. Soviet expectations versus results. Emphasizes the 1960s, first decade of colonial independence. Analyzes the roots of nationalist movements and cultural elements such as religion. How Soviet emphasis has evolved. Mao's application of another version of Leninism for same purposes. Bibliographical footnotes.

MacDonald, Brian, ed. The Grand Strategy of the Soviet Union. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1983. 167 p., ill. UA770.G69 1984.

A collection of papers, the Institute Proceedings for 1982. Note especially "Transforming Strategy into Practice: Two Case Studies," on use of disinformation and espionage by the Soviet Union, from the viewpoint of Canadian policy interests. The Canadian vulnerability to disinformation, disbelief in the threat of Soviet active measures. Examples of recent KGB programs in North America; how the Soviets view their goals and methods. A short summary of Soviet Third-World strategy since 1950. An article by Richard Pipes on Soviet methods, with suggested countermeasures.

Magnus, Ralph H., ed .Afghan Alternatives: Issues, Options and Policies. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Transaction Books, 1985. 221 pp. DS371.2 1985.

A collection of articles by Middle East scholars, on Soviet internal perceptions, aims and policies related to resistance movements in Afghanistan, and the United States role there. Evaluates policies and options, including propaganda use by the United States and Soviets. The atrocity issue and coercive military diplomacy used to "win" the people. Emphasis on the force of events internal to the country and their effect on international policy. Bibliographical notes.

Matthews, Lloyd J. and Dale E. Brown, eds. Assessing the Viet Nam War--A Collection from the Journal of the United States Army War College. Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1987. 254 p. DS557.7.A87 1987.

Based on evaluation of existing literature on Vietnam, and continuing debate on the subject, a description of how the war was fought, and lessons learned, specifically in broad application to future low-intensity conflicts. Discussion of obstacles to a democracy functioning in such conflicts.

McLaurin, Ron D., ed. Military Propaganda: Psychological Warfare and Operations. New York: Praeger, 1982. 379 p., ill. UB275.M54 1982.

Emphasizes updating classical sources done after World War II on larger-scale conflicts. Moves away from strategic use of psychological operations to specific military uses. Detailed articles on military applications, tactical organization and goals. Information on Working with native populations, using available resources. Deep, detailed methodological and theoretical approaches. Readings also on specific topics and cases.

Mendelssohn, Peter de. Japan's Political Warfare. New York: Arno, 1972. 192 p. D810.P7J355.

Reprinted from a 1944 monograph. The machinery and methods of Japanese wartime propaganda, who controlled information distribution, including newspapers, censorship, film and mass meetings. The ideology and policy behind the campaigns, and the unique Japanese concept of propaganda and its uses. Written to explore a hitherto little-known subject and destroy the myth that the Japanese were not effective in this area.

Nale, Antonio S. Employment of Natives in Counterinsurgency Operations in the Philippines. Master's thesis, Army Command and General Staff College, 1983. 114 p.

Not available in Library of Congress collection. Includes case studies of effective and ineffective use of natives in counterinsurgency (in Malaya and Laos, respectively), and in the Philippines, 1946-1981. Lessons learned in effective use of psychological operations and civic action in previous campaigns and applied in the Philippines. Application of this case to future CI operations with similar environments. Lists preparatory steps to ensure maximum effect.

The New Image Makers. McLean, Virginia: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers, 1988.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Owen, David. Battle of Wits: A History of Psychology and Deception in Modern Warfare. London: Cooper, 1978. 207 p. UB275.O93.

General treatment beginning with World War I; no theory or deep analysis. Points out the place of psychological operations in World War II, including German use of radio and American counteruse at Normandy. Postwar applications such as the 1948 Malayan campaign to isolate guerrillas from the population, seen as a possible pattern for future operations.

Paddock, Alfred H. United States Army Special Warfare: Its Origins. Washington: National Defense University Press, 1982. 221 p. UA34.S64 P33 1982.

An historical chronicle of origins of American special warfare, including psychological and unconventional types. Goals, methods, structure and evaluation of World-War-II-era and prewar operations. The early Soviet threat and reactions to it, early efforts to preserve national security from communist threats. Explains measures taken in Korean-War era, leading to establishment at Ft. Bragg of the Psychological War Center in 1952.

Pincher, Chapman. The Secret Offensive. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985. 314 p., ill. UB251.S65P55 1985.

The Soviet view of disinformation and psychological operations, and how it differs from the American. Detailed description of cases of media use of these operations to generate fear. Includes material on nuclear weapons in Europe and SDI as factors in the psychological balance. Propaganda offensives, forgeries, and setups as legitimate elements of Soviet foreign policy.

Rose, Clive. Campaigns against Western Defense--NATO's Adversaries and Critics. New York: St. Martin's, 1985. 318 p. UA646.3.R6 1985.

Note especially part II, "Adversaries: International Front Organizations and Soviet Peace Campaigns." Postwar lessons and mistakes in handling the Soviet Union's propaganda. With new elements in the world situation, the role of nuclear weapons and a misunderstood drive for peace as used by Soviet propaganda organizations, to achieve national goals without war. Bibliographical notes and detailed listing of peace and front organizations and their members, considered tools of the Soviet program.

Rose, Clive. The Soviet Propaganda Network. New York: St. Martin's, 1988.

(Not yet available at time of compilation)

Sanyakoyev, Sh.P., ed. Voprosy sovetskoy vneshnepoliticheskoy propagandy (Problems of Soviet Foreign Policy Propaganda). Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya, 1980. 256 p. DK270.V66.

The historical background of propaganda in Marxism-Leninism, the basic directions and methods of anti-imperialist propaganda, the role of the media and other socialist countries in international propaganda campaigns.

Sarkesian, Sam, ed. Non-Nuclear Conflicts in the Nuclear Age. New York: Praeger, 1980. 404 p. UA23.N68.

How the United States deals with, and could deal with, non-European conflicts and policy objectives. The United States "psychological retreat from power," and the need to use varied responses, including nonmilitary and quasimilitary measures. A long historical and theoretical background of the problem. Note especially chapter 4," Nonmilitary Instruments of Defense Policy," which describes measures available and their positive and negative aspects. Extensive footnotes.

Schuh, Horst. Das Gerucht--Psychologie des Geruchts im Krieg (Rumor--The Psychology of Rumor in War). Munich; Bernard & Graefe, 1981. 117 p., ill. U22.3.S345.

A general definition of rumor, with specific applications in both world wars. How psychological war techniques are used on enemy and friendly populations. How to analyze and defend against rumor, in view of its goals and methods.

Selections from the Public Opinion Quarterly. New York: Arno, 1972. 345 p. HM263.I64.

Originally published in 1942, reprinted in the series International Propaganda and Communications. A collection of essays to inform the wartime public of the "public opinion problems" of World War II. Describes in detail the Allied use of psychological warfare to defeat the enemy. How audiences are evaluated and the message is tailored to them. Many examples, charts, and graphs comparing cultural groups. A detailed description of organized propaganda methodology, using America of 1942 as a case study.

Shattering Europe's Defense Consensus--The Antinuclear Protest Movement and the Future of NATO. Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985. 226 p. UA646.3.S436 1985.

Andropov's campaign of 1982-83 to intensify the European peace movements and block nuclear deployment in Europe. Describes the peace parties in each West European country, its origins, structure, and philosophy, and assesses the success of Andropov's program in each case. Bibliographical notes.

Shelyag, V.V., A.D. Glotochkin, and K.K. Platonov, eds. Voyennaya psikhologiya (Military Psychology). Washington: GPO, I976. 408 p. ill. U22.3.V6213.

A textbook for higher military institutes of the Soviet Army and Navy. Scientific psychological analysis of combat conditions. Its background as a field of study, mental processes and states in the military, the psychological makeup of the Soviet serviceman and military groups. Of special interest is material on the psychological processes involved in agitation and propaganda.

Short, Anthony. The Communist Insurgency in Malaya 1948-1960. New York: Crane Russak, 1975. 547 p. DS597.S47.

See especially Battle for the Mind, a detailed account of insurgent and counterinsurgency methods in the Malaya campaign, and the formula for ultimate defeat of the guerrillas, including use of psychological operations.

Shultz, Richard H., and Roy Godson. Dezinformatsia and Active Measures in Soviet Strategy. New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1984. 211 p., ill. UB251.S65S54 1984.

Mainly describes Soviet propaganda campaigns against the United States, their overall strategy and themes. Includes interviews with defectors, and a detailed analysis of materials and methods used by this Soviet campaign from 1960 to 1980.

Smith, Myron, Jr. The Secret Wars--A Guide to Sources in English. 3 vols. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1980. Z6724.I7S63.

Divided as follows: Volume I, Intelligence, propaganda and political warfare, resistance movements and secret operations 1939-1945; Volume II, Intelligence, propaganda, political warfare and covert actions, 1945-1980; and Volume III, International terrorism, 1968-1980. Divided by category and subcategory of campaigns, types of action and country. Note especially Vol. II, which covers communist vs. Western operations, operations in individual countries, and United States agencies. Discusses intelligence and covert actions by operation type, country, and United States activity by agency and type of action.

Stone, William F. and Paul E. Schaffner. The Psychology of Politics. 2d. ed. New York: Springer Verlag, 1988. 331 p., ill. JA74.5.S8 1988.

See especially chapter 4, "Psychology and Ideology," on the role of creeds and beliefs on formation of political behavior. Based on the United States, but provides a complete description of the elements forming individual and social ideology. Also, chapter 10, "Nuclear War," describing the psychological role and international stakes of nuclear arms. Also examines nuclear game theory and strategy, and public beliefs and ideology on the nuclear question.

Sulc, Lawrence B. Active Measures, Quiet War and Two Socialist Revolutions. Washington: Nathan Hale Institute, 1985. 46 p.

First section is of interest, providing an overview of the current status of the Soviets, in general and in detail, and a set of recommendations for effective Western response to the various devices being used. Examines Western and Soviet views of psyops, and the philosophical background of the latter. Organization and methodology of Soviet active measures--exploitation of target weaknesses. Bibliographical footnotes.

Talbott, Strobe. Endgame--The Inside Story of SALT II. New York: Harper and Row, 1979. 319 p. JX1974.75.T34 1979.

Central comparison of SALT negotiations to a bargaining game. Historical background, then a chronological description of events leading up to the 1979 signing date. How position changes on one side affected psychology and positioning of the other, on the background of international situations and perceived goals. Detailed analysis of the constant adjustment process as those changes occurred.

Thayer, Thomas C. War without Fronts--The American Experience in Viet Nam. Boulder, Col: Westview Press, 1985. 276 p., ill. DS557.7.T453 1985.

Based on previously classified information, gathered from 1965-1972, written by an assistant to Robert McNamara during the Vietnamese war. Both civilian and military aspects covered, including chapters on pacification and civilian operations. Much raw data, statistics, tables. Evaluation of trends in narrative summary. The concept of "secure" population, refugees, the role of indigenous forces. Viet Cong defections, antisubversion activities.

Thompson, W. Scott, and Donaldson D. Frizell, eds. The Lessons of Vietnam. New York: Crane Russak, 1977. 288 p. DS557.7.L47 1977.

Chapters on the American approach to the Vietnam war, psychological factors, the Vietnamization program, and possible alternative approaches to fighting the war. Taken from papers presented at a colloquium, 1973-74, at the Fletcher School, by many eminent military and political figures, expressing a wide variety of viewpoints on those topics.

Thomson, Oliver. Mass Persuasion in History--A Historical Analysis of the Development of Propaganda Techniques. Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1977. 142 p. HM263.T47 1977.

Part I covers definition and background, objectives, media development, and audience analysis; Part II, historical case studies from the Romans through Mao, including Hitler and the Soviets, covering nearly every modern period. Short, generalized accounts, with some specific examples.

Ulam, Adam. Dangerous Relations--The Soviet Union in World Politics 1971-1982. New York: Oxford, 1983. 315 p. DK274.U4 1983.

Pros and cons of detente as a world phenomenon. How both sides explain it to themselves and to the outside world. How the Soviets use their negotiating tactics to overcome inherently weak international positions, such as the Afghan invasion. Soviet nonmilitary tactics to split Western Europe from the Westications in world conflict (Algeria, Vietnam).

U.S. Department of State. Contemporary Soviet Propaganda and Disinformation--A Conference Report. Washington: Department of State, 1987. 337 p. DK289.C66 1987.

A collection of articles on theory and application of Soviet methods in international political psychology. Topics include

semantics and theory, case studies in application, internal impact of propaganda campaigns, and evaluation of the Soviet mindset and programs aimed against the West. Colloquium format, with presentation, panel discussion, and commentary. Extensive bibliographical notes.

Die Vierte Front (The Fourth Front). Berlin: Militarverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1977. 132 p., ill. UB275.V53.

Psychological operations seen as a weapon of imperialism in the contemporary war of ideology, and the psychological basis of anticommunism. Emphasis on application in West German-East German conflict, both military and civilian, on the background of overall European-Soviet politics. Discussion of methods, especially use of the mass media. Prescriptions for combatting Western psychological operations by the communist world.

Volkogonov, D.A. The Psychological War. Moscow: Progress, 1986, 240 p. UB275.V6413 1986.

A complete description of soviet doctrine in conducting nonmilitary campaigns of psychological influence in the contemporary context. Defends psyops as a necessary, integral part of strategic doctrine to preserve Soviet security against the efforts of the capitalist world to destabilize it. Historical background, description, means, and philosophy.

Volkogonov, D.A. (ed.). Kontrpropaganda: teoriya i praktika (Counterpropaganda: Theory and Practice). Moscow: Voyennoye izdatel's stvo, 1988. 240 p. (FRD reference collection)

The forms and methods of contrapropaganda in refuting imperialist propaganda campaigns, ideological diversion and psywar actions, aimed at the Soviet soldier. Arguments based on interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. Functions of Soviet organizations, imperialist approaches to be refuted, most effective approaches to be used.

Whelan, Joseph G., and Dixon, Michael J. The Soviet Union in the Third World--Threat to World Peace? New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1986. 486 p., ill. D888.S65W48 1986

The role and importance of the Third World, with historical background, to the United States-Soviet policy relationship. Soviet aims and devices used--military, cultural, and political--by regions. Covers all "third-world" nations, giving the positive and negative results from efforts made in each area and for each type of approach. Very complete bibliography, divided by subtopic and region.

Wilson, Eleanor M. Psychological Warfare in Low Intensity Conflict (Latin America). Newport, R.I.: Naval War College Department of Operations, 1987.

Use of propaganda to counter Soviet influence in Latin

Bair, Arthur H., Jr., et. al. "Unconventional Warfare: A Legitimate Tool of Foreign Policy." Conflict, No. 1, 1983, pp. 59-81.

Discusses how unconventional warfare can be a useful asset to the United States in the future, with its use contributing to policy successes.

Baratto, David J. "Special Forces in the 1980s: A Strategic Reorientation." Military Review, March 1983, pp. 2-14.

The history and missions of the Special Forces, and a look at their future, calling for a complete reorientation toward proactive measures to secure long-term goals.

Beaumont, Roger. "Soviet Psychological Warfare and Propaganda." Signal, November 1987, pp. 75-84.

A good overview of the Soviet conception of propaganda, examining its semantics, moralistic themes, and goals. Discusses the Pavlovian psychological theory of Soviet propaganda, and Soviet use of reflexive and adaptive control.

Bell, J. Bowyer. "Old Trends and Future Reality." Washington Quarterly, Spring 1985, pp. 25-35.

Describes similarities in most rebel ideological foundations and only slight differences in technical means used to achieve victory. On the left-right ideological spectrum, the fewer the assets and more vulnerable the opponent, the more likely the insurgent will resort to spectacular terror.

Benn, David Wedgwood. "Soviet Propaganda: The Theory and the Practice." World Today, June 1985, pp. 112-115.

Analysis of present Soviet propaganda practices and motivations, and evaluation of their success rate for internal propaganda campaigns. Emphasis on problems and lack of response in target audiences, and the poor grasp of psychology shown by failures to manipulate public opinion. Assessment of factors most important in such manipulation in the Soviet Union.

Billington, James H. "From Russia with NBC." Washington Journalism Review, November 1984, pp. 20-22.

Explores the reasons for unrealistic coverage of the Soviet Union by American television: the secrecy of the Soviet system, but also Soviet manipulation of the American media.

Black, A. "Tactical Psychological Operations (PSYOPS)." Canadian Defence Quarterly, summer 1987, pp. 29-30.

Examines the military applications for psychological operations. How psychological activities can be used together with weaponry to broaden the impact of conventional combat methods at the tactical level.

Branigan, William. "Psychological Warfare in Panama." Washington Post, May 3, 1988, p. A24.

How Manuel Noriega uses psychological warfare, with possible Cuban aid, to maintain political dominance in Panama. How Cuban agents are used to stir anti-United States sentiment among Panamanians, in "dignity brigades." Examines media, sloganeering, and news manipulation.

Brind, Harry. "Soviet Policy in the Horn of Africa." International Affairs (London), Winter 1983-1984, pp. 75-95.

Analyzes current Soviet objectives in maintaining influence in the region, assessing its influence and citing obstacles to Soviet objectives.

"Central America and the United States Foreign Policy." Washington Quarterly, fall 1984, pp. 4-58.

Evaluation of United States relations with Central America, seen from several sides in a collection of articles. Current policy, future potential, analogies to Viet Nam, countering Soviet influence. Cultural factors at work in these relations.

Chang, Chih-i. "In the Bosom of the Enemy (I)." Issues & Studies, July 1986, pp. 160-178.

How the Chinese Communists used community leaders, heads of secret societies and prominent Christian and Buddhist figures after World War II to attack the Chiang government. Use of rumor to mislead United States policy in China. Used as a reference for Chinese Communist cadre.

Collier, Peter, and David Horowitz. "Another 'Low Dishonest Decade' on the Left." Commentary, January 1987, pp. 17-24.

An assessment of radical politics in the 1980s, especially attitudes toward Central America. How the Left appeals to United States international morality to hide support for totalitarian movements, in the post-Viet Nam era.

Copley, Gregory R. "A Selection of Books, Articles and Documents on Psychological Strategy." Conference on Psychological Strategies, Washington, November 13-15, 1983.

Lists books, articles and government documents (English language only) on all aspects of psychological operations and psywar. Includes "classic" monographs and up-to-date monographs and articles. No annotations.

Cordesman, Anthony M. "Whence the Threat to Peace: The Soviet View of the Threat." Armed Forces Journal International, April 1983, pp. 91-93.

The Soviet publication Whence the Threat to Peace second edition), as a Soviet view of the balance of power and an answer to Western publications (such as Soviet Military Power) on the subject. Sees the publication as a propaganda effort that shows the Soviet mindset on NATO and seeks to undermine Western stability.

Coyle, R. G. "A System Description of Counterinsurgency Warfare." Policy Sciences, March 1985, pp. 55-78.

Discusses the problems of mathematical or purely descriptive analyses of counterinsurgency, suggesting instead use of diagrammatic system description. Develops a model of influence between government and insurgents, analyzing feedback structures to detect asymmetric mechanisms of victory for both sides.

Dickson, Keith D. "The Basmachi and the Mujahidin: Soviet Responses to Insurgency Movements." Military Review, February

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Compares Soviet counterinsurgency campaign in Afghanis[redacted]tan to

Duculescu, Victor. "Power and Influence in International Relations." Revue roumaine d'Etudes internationales, 1984, pp. 299-308.

Examines power and influence as related concepts, and explains their connection. Identifies the need to define power in new, positive terms related to the capacity for negotiation.

Duff, William. ""Soviet Armaments and Active Measures."" The Retired Officer, March 1984, pp. 24-27.

How the Soviets focus public attention on United States nuclear capabilities to create the impression that they are more interested than the United States in arms control. Background information on Soviet active measures organizations and policy since World War II. How that policy has used peace movements as front organizations, playing on fear of nuclear war.

Dzhuri, I. "Otsenka effektivnosti psikhologicheskikh operatsiy vooruzhennykh sil SShA" (Evaluating the Effectiveness of Psychological Operations of the Armed forces of the USA). Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye, February 1983, pp. 25-26.

Recent expansion of United States psyops programs. Developments in data-gathering and analytical systems, especially PAMIS (defined as an automated information and control system for psychological operations). Detailed description of goals and structure of such systems, all from the Soviet point of view.

Eagleburger, Lawrence S. "Unacceptable Intervention: Soviet Active Measures." NATO Review, April 1983, pp. 6-11.

Describes the range of Soviet techniques--front groups, disinformation, forgery, press manipulation, and agents of influence--included under the broad category of "Soviet active measures."

Filiberti, Edward J. "The Roots of United States Counterinsurgency Doctrine." Military Review, January 1988, pp. 50-61.

Historical background of the doctrine, beginning in the campaign against Aguinaldo in the Philippines, the first anti-guerrilla experience of the United States A detailed case study of United States policies and errors in that era, and how insurgents were isolated and neutralized--a precursor of present counterinsurgency policy.

Fishel, John T., and Edmund S. Cowan. "Civilian-Military Operations and the War for Moral Legitimacy in Latin America." Military Review, January 1988, pp. 37-49.

How civilian-military operations (CMO) can be used for counterinsurgency in Latin America, to strengthen existing legitimate regimes. Use of economic, social, and political measures in place of military operations, to influence indigenous populations by providing them with what they actually need, especially with engineering and medical assistance and encouragement of independent local organizations for the same purposes.

Foster, Gregory D. "Public Opinion and the Alliance: A Strategy Framework." Strategic Review, Winter 1987, pp. 52-66.

The challenge to the Atlantic Alliance posed by differences of national goals and outlook among the members. Recommendations for meeting the challenge by coordinated diplomacy aimed at the public in these countries, to build a concensus for continued strength.

Frank, Jerome D. "Psychological Causes of the Nuclear Arms Race." Chemtech, August 1982, pp. 466-469.

A psychiatrist analyzes the mental processes that contribute to the paradoxical and contradictory approach of the United States and Soviet Union to the threat of nuclear arms. Common elements of human psychology that contribute, beyond immediate political considerations. Outlines four main elements in shaping behavior, with recommendations for overcoming the influence of anthropological and psychological human fallibility.

German, Robert K. "Nuclear-Free Zones: Norwegian Interest, Soviet Encouragement." Orbis, Summer 1982, pp. 451-476.

Examines the nordic nuclear-free zone proposal in light of Soviet-Norwegian relations and the Norwegian debate on nuclear weapons; Soviet public relations encouraging Norwegian acceptance of the proposal.

Gerry, Alex. "Soviet Propaganda Must Be Countered." Officer, September 1987, pp. 12-16.

Discusses successes of Soviet propaganda in altering Western European attitudes toward the United States and in fostering disunity within NATO. Calls for NATO alliance to combat Soviet psychological warfare.

Gonzalez, Edward. "The Cuban and Soviet Challenge in the Caribbean Basin." Orbis, Spring 1985, pp. 73-94.

An assessment of the power of the Soviet Union and Cuba (as a client of the Soviets) to influence political opinion and policy in the region and advance their long-term goals.

Harris, Lillian Craig. "China's Third World Courtship." Washington Quarterly, Summer 1982, pp. 128-137.

Identifies the increased attention paid by China to the Third World, as part of its strategy of balancing the influence of the Soviet Union. Problems and methodology of this effort.

Hart, Douglas M. "Low-Intensity Conflict in Afghanistan: The Soviet View." Survival, March-April 1982, pp. 61-67.

How Soviet counterinsurgency tactics evolved into an operational concept and new unit configuration, to minimize the effect of guerrilla activity, in response to the LIC environment in Afghanistan.

Herzog, Richard J. "Tactics in Military Propaganda Documents: A Content Analysis of Illustrations." Defense Analysis, March

Huyn, Hans Graf. "Webs of Soviet Disinformation." Strategic Review, Fall 1984, pp. 51-58.

A general discussion of disinformation as a principle weapon of Soviet international policy, including a wide variety of activities to shape popular perception and influence Western policies.

Isaac, Rael Jean and Erich Isaac. "The Counterfeit Peacemakers: Atomic Freeze." American Spectator, June 1982, pp. 8-12, 14-17.

The origins and possible goals of the nuclear freeze movement--information necessary to balance public opinion on the issue of nuclear weapons, taking into consideration the connection of Soviet propaganda with the freeze movement.

Jenkins, Brian Michael. "New Modes of Conflict." Orbis, Spring 1984, pp. 5-15.

Attempts to describe terrorism as new mode of conflict made possible by technological development and fits it into scheme of conflict in general. Discusses relationships between conventional warfare, guerrilla warfare, and terrorism.

Kahler, Hans. "Soviet Psychological Warfare." International Defense Review, February 1986, pp. 157-160.

General and brief overview of institutions involved in and nature of Soviet active measures. Discusses front organizations set up and supported by Soviets for pursuing in psychological warfare.

Kampf, Herbert A. "The Challenge of Marxist-Leninist Propaganda." Political Communication and Persuasion, , 1987, pp. 103-122.

Examines how Marxist-Leninist propaganda addresses the problem of the disparity between the ideology and reality, looking at the propaganda techniques used. The ideology uses redefined words as a cryptic, internal language of the initiated. Discusses the appeal Marxism-Leninism has to intellectuals.

Kaplowitz, Noel. "Psychological Dimensions of International Relations: The Reciprocal Effects of Conflict Strategies." International Studies Quarterly, December 1984, pp. 373-406.

Presents a psychopolitical theory of parties in conflict, consisting of a typology of conflict strategies ranging from totalist to conciliatory. Each strategy is associated with particular self-images, enemy perceptions, and conflict beliefs.

Kelly, Ross S. "United States Special Operations." Defense and Foreign Affairs, September 1984, pp. 26-27.

Evaluation of present United States special forces capabilities, seen as making a post-Vietnam comeback. Listing and description of present forces by branch and function, including psychological operations and civil affairs units. Organizational and support problems, and examples of special operations forces in action.

Khmara, Nikolai "Brainwashing." Soviet Military Review, June 1986, pp. 52-53.

The psychological indoctrination program of the United States military establishment, as a key part of achieving the designs of imperialism. The role of chaplains, commanders, film and atrocity propaganda, for anticommunist indoctrination. The concept that America is invincible, and how it is propagated in everyday military life.

------. "Hawks of Psychological Warfare." Soviet Military Review, July 1985, pp. 51-51.

Describes attempts of the imperialist powers to "poison the world psychological atmosphere." Institutions such as NATO and USIA as chief agents, meddling in internal affairs of other countries; techniques used. High priority of psyops in United States military doctrine.

Kim, G. "Sovetskiy Soyuz i natsional'no-osvoboditel'noye dvizheniye" (The USSR and the National Liberation Movement). Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya, 9, 1982, pp. 19-33.

Examines the development and prospects of national liberation in the Orient. Stresses that the USSR has increased ties with newly independent states in three areas: economic, political, diplomatic, and the "rendering of certain aid...in repulsing aggression."

Kissinger, Henry A. "Nuclear Weapons and the Peace Movement." Washington Quarterly, Summer 1982, pp. 31-39.

The clamor for peace in the West seen as creating a psychological imbalance, because no comparable drive exists on the Soviet side. The danger of unilateral disarmament and great insecurity in the countries bordering the Soviet Union, because of the strength of Western public opinion.

Langenberg, William H. "The Big Berthas: How Successful?" Military Review, November 1982, pp. 23-32.

Examines use of long-distance guns in World War I to destroy French morale by shelling Paris.

Lewarne, Stephen. "The Soviet Press and Afghanistan." International Perspectives, July-August 1985, pp. 17-20.

How the Soviet press prepared its public for the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan. Treatment of the West (normal propaganda lines) and of religious and nationality questions (new approaches, arising from the Iranian revolution).

Lewy, Guenter. "Does America Need a Verfassungsschutzbericht?" Orbis, fall 1987, pp. 275-295.

The complete freedom of speech in the United States seen as an easy opportunity for subversive propaganda, as exemplified by the influence of the left in the Vietnam era. Recommends a West German-style office to publicize extremist activities, as a defense of open society.

Lightbody, Gregg. "The Soviet Art of Warring with Words." International Combat Arms, March 1986, pp. 76-79.
General overview of Soviet propaganda and disinformation efforts, briefly giving organizational history and examples of successful and unsuccessful propaganda-disinformation efforts.

"Low-Intensity Conflict (LIC)." Military Review, September 1988, pp. 2-71.

A collection of articles, evaluating current United States LIC capability, the dangers of using LIC, the role of civil affairs, and specific examples in Latin America, the Second Seminole War and the Russian intervention of 1918-1920.

Lubkin, Yale Jay. "Soviets Launch All-Out Campaign Against the SDI: Use 'Active Measures.'" Defense Science and Electronics, June 1986, pp. 15-18.

Outlines how disinformation against SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) was spread by Soviet front organizations aiming to manipulate Western opinion. Discusses five themes of active measures program against SDI.

Mahrad, Ahmad. "Zur Rolle des iranischen 'Ministeriums fur islamische Aufklarung'" (The Role of the Iranian 'Ministry of Islamic Enlightenment). Orient, March 1984, pp. 65-82.

Finds that the Khomeini regime spends a great deal on domestic and international propaganda aimed against the West

and the Persian Gulf states, while waging a lesser campaign against the Soviet Union despite the invasion of Afghanistan. Discusses how Khomeini tries to coopt academic and cultural elites to endorse his policies.

Martin, L. John. "Disinformation: An Instrumentality in the Propaganda Arsenal." Political Communication and Persuasion, 1, 1982, pp. 47-64.

General overview of Soviet disinformation efforts, discussing pedigree of term and use as an instrument of policy. Argues that no state would engage in disinformation if the actual course of world affairs was operating in its favor.

Mastny, Vojtech. "The Soviet Union and the Falklands War." Naval War College Review, May-June 1983, pp. 46-55.

Soviet attempts to portray the Falklands Islands War as a conflict between a Third World country striving to recover lost territory and an ex-colonial power clinging to a piece of empire. Describes how Soviets tried to maximize propaganda value of the conflict against the United States and Britain.

McEwan, Michael T. "Psychological Operations against Terrorism: The Unused Weapon." Military Review, January 1986, pp. 59-67.
A proposal for nonviolent measures against terrorist groups, using psychological warfare against the terrorist and to influence the public.

Meshcheryakov, V. "Strategicheskaya dezinformatsiya v dostizhenii vnezapnosti po opytu vtoroy mirovoy voyny" (Strategic Disinformation in Achieving Surprise, Based on the Experience of the Second World War). Voyenno-istoricheskiy zhurnal, February 1985, pp. 74-80.

German, United States and British use of strategic surprise in World War II operations; brief accounts of three examples, with documentation. How the United States and NATO now apply strategic disinformation in planning surprise attacks on the Soviet Union.

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Miranda, Joseph. "Political Warfare: Can the West Survive?" Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies, Spring 1985, pp. 3-24.

Political warfare as a "decisive element in modern conflict." Definition and discussion of the field, with proposals for the West to remain competitive and learn from past mistakes.

Mojdehi, J.M.M. "America and the Third World: Return to the Past." Survival, March-April 1982, pp. 78-86.

Two contrary approaches of American policy toward the Third World: one as a battlefield between United States and Soviet interests, the other as a localized source of conflict. A warning against the Reagan Administration's emphasis on the first concept.

Montgomery, Robin Navarro. "Psychological Warfare and the Latin American Crisis." Air University Review, July-August 1982, pp. 48-57.

Examines vulnerability of the United States to Cuban psychological warfare, and calls for analytical attention to the link between the legitimacy of Castroism and Latin American intellectual support for aspects of Castroism. Also calls for the United States to engage in a psychological counteroffensive in Latin America, reinvigorating the concept of democracy.

Moskvin, P., and S. Chuprov. "Ideologicheskaya obrabotka doprizyvnoy molodezhi v FRG" (Ideological Indoctrination of Youth Prior to Induction in the Federal Republic of Germany). Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye, May 1987, pp. 14-19.

How West Germany brainwashes its youth with anticommunist

bullet communications theory. The dubious effect of the United States programs on foreign audiences, as shown by media analysis.

Nolutshungu, Sam C. "African Interests and Soviet Power: The Local Context of Soviet Policy." Soviet Studies, July 1982, pp. 397-417.

How a new Soviet image in Africa meets local African interests and concerns. The new complexities of Soviet military force in Africa on behalf of allies, adding factors that make such ventures less predictable than before.

Oberg, James E. "The Sky's the Limit on Disinformation." Air Force Magazine, March 1986, pp. 52-56.

Qualities of Western media and public perception that make Soviet false documents effective, even when done clumsily. Recent examples of Western stories benefiting Soviet goals by spreading disinformation, especially in space-age technology, tracing the origin of the stories.

Parry, Robert and Peter Kornblub. "Iran-Contra's Untold Story." Foreign Policy, Fall 1988, pp. 3-30.

The attempts of the Reagan Administration to neutralize public opposition to United States intervention in Central America, using propaganda and intimidation to mislead the American people and reshape their perceptions.

Pattie, Geoffrey E. "Public Opinion and Alliance Security." Strategic Review, Spring 1982, pp. 71-79.

Soviet propaganda as a force behind Western peace movements that weaken the Atlantic Alliance. How the West has failed to meet this campaign with effective counterarguments.

Payne, Douglas W. "The 'Mantos' of Sandinista Deception." Strategic Review, Spring 1985, pp. 9-20.

How a small group of Marxists have used deception to take over the popular revolution in Nicaragua, beginning in 1961 and continuing to the present. Describes tactics and results of this campaign.

Pipes, Richard. "Survival is Not Enough: How Vulnerable is the West?" Survey, summer 1984, pp. 1-33.

In an exerpt from his book of the same title, Pipes discusses the Soviet "grand strategy" for total world victory for socialism. The factors in Western society that make it

vulnerable to Soviet devices in this strategy, which seeks to divide the West.

Porter, Bruce. "The Soviet Peace Offensive: An Analysis of Tactics." Radio Liberty Research, May 3, 1982, pp. 1-4.

Goals and mechanisms of the Soviet peace campaign in Europe. Lists tactics, with examples of each, between 1979 and 1982. Soviet behavior in response to various conditions and attitudes toward peace movements in the East Bloc.

Possony, Stefan T. "Kremlin Ideology and Psychological Warfare." Defense and Foreign Affairs, June 1983, pp. 24-26.

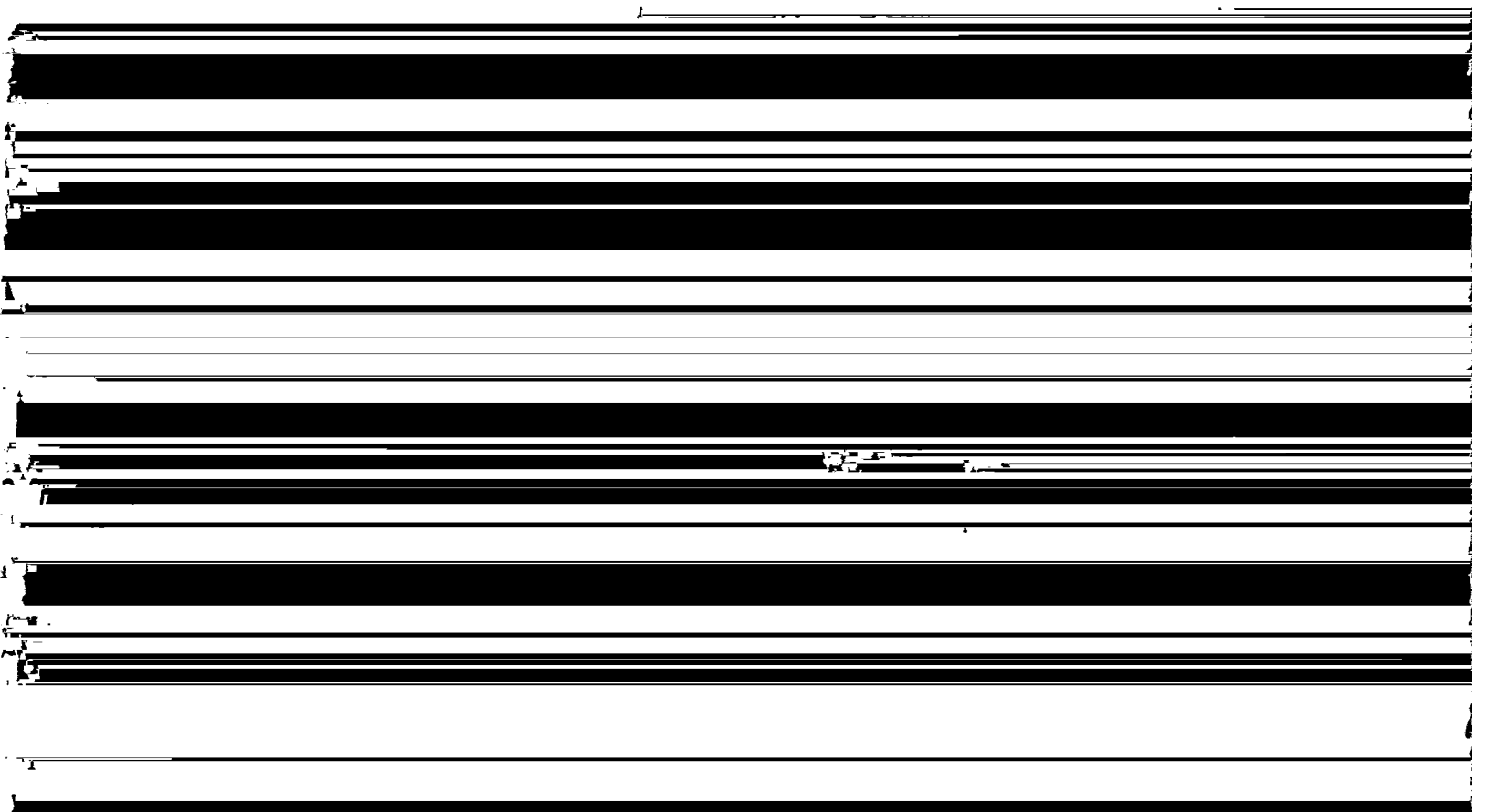
Discusses Soviet personnel responsible for psychological operations policy, such as Gromyko, Andropov, Ponomarev, and Zagladin, and examines their writings.

Ramet, Pedro, and Fernando Lopez-Alves. "Moscow and the Revolutionary Left in Latin America." Orbis, Summer 1984, pp. 341-363.

New opportunities for Soviet influence in Latin America, produced by indigenous anti-Americanism more than by improved effectiveness of Soviet devices.

Rees, David. "Soviet Active Measures: The Propaganda War." Conflict Studies, 1984, pp. 1-26.

The Soviet preference for active measures over armed aggression in Afghanistan, using overt and covert techniques to undermine Western positions. Examines Soviet institutions



periodicals. Variations in treatment among the five as evidence of differences among party leaders.

Remnick, David. "WKGB" The New Republic, October 24, 1988, pp. 46-48.

A review of Split Signals: Television and Politics in the Soviet Union, by Ellen Mickiewicz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), which discusses Gorbachev's use of television as an instrument of propaganda, in the context of the Russian/Soviet propaganda tradition. Evaluates effect of glasnost on the media's role in Soviet society.

Roshchupkin, V. "Ideologicheskaya agressiya protiv Afganistana" (Ideological Aggression against Afghanistan). Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye, July 1987, pp. 7-10.

American imperialism and the CIA as originators of the propaganda campaign against "democratic Afghanistan," beginning in 1979. Organization and diverse agents of the campaign. Crimes of the rebels, benefits of Soviet presence, prospects for democracy and peace.

Rubinstein, Alvin Z. "Soviet Success Story: The Third World." Orbis, Fall 1988, pp. 551-565.

In spite of Gorbachev's verbal deemphasis of activity in the Third World, diplomatic activity remains intense. An analysis of similarities and differences in the Gorbachev approach to various countries.

Rudolph, Jorg-Meinhard. "China's Media: Fitting News to Print." Problems of Communism, July-August 1984, pp. 58-67.

Describes official Chinese policy on news reporting, to propagate state policy. How the Chinese media retain credibility by issuing objective reports in a closely-controlled system of internal publications.

Sabrosky, Alan N., and William O. Staudenmaier. "A Strategy of Counterrevolutionary War." Military Review, February 1985, pp. 2-15.

A call for a new strategy of phased employment of forces in counterrevolutionary war, and a proposed structure for that strategy to ensure United States success in future conflicts.

Sanders, Sol W. "Central America and Vietnam: The True Parallels." Strategic Review, Spring 1987, pp. 19-26.

A listing of the failures of United States policy versus local populations in Vietnam and Central America, including reactive policy to local developments, refusal to recognize long-term enemy objectives, and massive solutions to complicated local problems.

Sashin, Yu. "Moral'no-politicheskoye sostoyaniye lichnogo sostava Bundesvera" (The Morale and Political Condition of Personnel in the Bundeswehr). Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye,

Shlapentokh, Vladimir E. "Moscow's War Propaganda and Soviet Public Opinion." Problems of Communism, September-October 1984, pp. 88-94.

How Soviet propaganda has shifted toward the inevitability of nuclear war, after a long period of messages to the contrary. Growing concern of the Soviet people about world catastrophe;

Taubman, Philip. "Afghan Siege Over, Troops Still Duck." New York Times, January 20, 1988, A, p. 3.

A closeup look at efforts by the Afghan government to reconcile the population to its control. Victory propaganda compared with on-the-scene situation where insurgents continue their campaign.

Taylor, Richard H., and John D. McDowell. "Low-Intensity Campaigns." Military Review, March 1988, pp. 2-11.

Factors to be considered in planning low-intensity campaigns. How military and nonmilitary factors are connected and interact in such an environment; the need for constant military readiness.

The Heritage Foundation. "Moscow's Hot War of Words." The Heritage Foundation Backgrounder, 338, 1984, 1-8.

Chronicle, by topic, of Soviet "verbal outrage and violations of the niceties of diplomatic discourse," documented listings of quotes from Soviet official sources. Conclusion is that United States harsh rhetoric is a necessary response in this "war."

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